

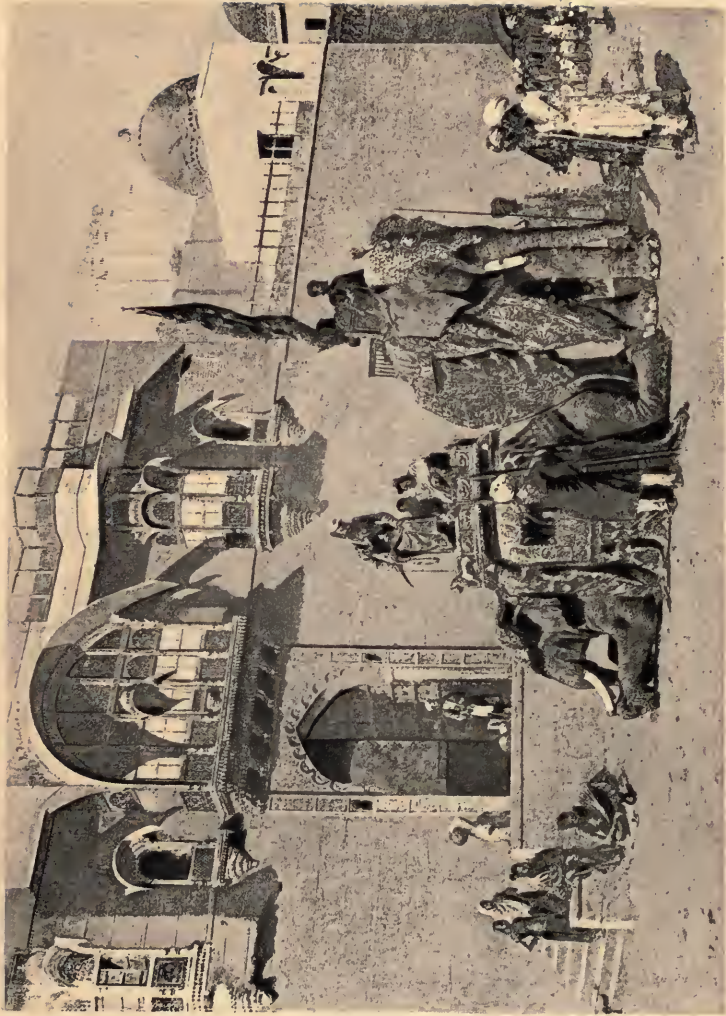
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THE HISTORY OF NATIONS

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D., LL.D. EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

INDIA

by

SIR WILLIAM W. HUNTER, F.R.S.

Late Director-General of
Statistics in India

and

MODERN PERSIA

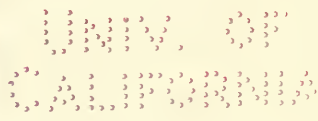
Edited

by

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, Ph.D.

Professor of History
Wesleyan University

Volume V



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PREFACE

THE history of nearly every European country affords the historian a subject of homogeneous character for his task; not so with the history of India, for instead of one race, many must be dealt with; instead of one religion the people of India include numerous devotees of nearly all the great world faiths; instead of a single state with one form of government with a continuous history, there have been numerous states with varying governmental systems, and tribes and empires have crowded and jostled one another, with dynasty rapidly displacing dynasty. The problem is yet more difficult, for the historian of India has always the unfathomed oriental to study, and then for more than four centuries must chronicle how the men of the West have come to India to win empires, and must unravel the tangled web wrought by European and Hindu as they have lived and fought and toiled together.

No light task is it, then, to take up the history of India and her peoples. Probably no one person has ever devoted himself so completely and so faithfully to this endless but endlessly interesting task as did Sir William Wilson Hunter. From his arrival in India in 1861 to take up an assignment to a minor post, he labored "first to enable England to learn India's wants; next to help England to think fairly of India; and, finally, to make the world feel the beauty and pathos of Indian life." In 1869 Lord Mayo appointed him to organize the statistical survey of the Indian empire, and for twelve years he toiled, in collaboration with numerous assistants, in the production of the 128 volumes which contain the reports of that survey. The remainder of his life was spent in the further pursuit of the same interesting studies. His last work, a few weeks before his death in 1900, was on his "History of British India"—a work which every student of Indian history must regret will remain forever unfinished.

In order to put the wealth of material contained in the massive Statistical Survey of British India in a convenient and easily

accessible form, Hunter in 1881 brought out the first edition of the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," of which a second edition in fourteen volumes was published in 1885, and a third edition is now in preparation by Mr. J. S. Cotton. The article, "India," in the Gazetteer, fills the sixth volume, and a separate revised edition of it was published in 1893 under the title "The Indian Empire, Its People, History, and Products." The sixteen historical chapters from this work were early published in a somewhat condensed form under the title of "A Brief History of Indian Peoples," and in a more condensed form appeared under the article "India" in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

More than eighty-five thousand copies of twenty-two English editions of the "Brief History" were published during the author's life, and a twenty-third edition prepared by the Rev. W. H. Hutton bears the date 1903. Several translations of the little book have been made, including versions in some of the languages of India. It has been widely used as a text-book in India, and since 1886 has been required for entrance examination by the Calcutta University. Such evidences of the authoritative character and the popularity of the "Brief History" are surely a full warrant for the selection of it as one of the volumes of THE HISTORY OF NATIONS.

Sir William Hunter may be allowed in the words of the preface to the first edition to tell the aims of his book:

"In this book I try to exhibit the growth of the Indian peoples, to show what part they have played in the world's progress, and what sufferings they have endured from other nations. Short Indian histories, as written by Englishmen, usually dismiss the first two thousand years of their narrative in a few pages, and start by disclosing India as a conquered country. This plan is not good, either for Europeans in India or for the Indians themselves; nor does it accord with the facts. As long as Indian history is presented to the Indian youth as nothing but a dreary record of disunion and subjection, our Anglo-Indian schools can scarcely become the nurseries of a self-respecting nation. I have therefore tried to put together, from original sources, a brief narrative of what I believe to be the true history of the peoples of India. These sources have been carefully examined in my larger works. This little book merely states, without discussing, the results arrived at by the labor of thirty years.

"I have tried to show how an early gifted race, ethnically

akin to our own, welded the primitive forest tribes into settled communities. How the nobler stock, set free from the severer struggle for life by the bounty of the Indian soil, created a language, a literature, and a religion, of rare stateliness and beauty. How the very absence of that strenuous striving with nature, which is so necessary a discipline for nations, unfitted them for the great conflicts which await all races. How, among the most intellectual class, the spiritual and contemplative aspects of life overpowered the practical and the political. How Hinduism, while sufficing to organize the Indian communities into social and religious confederacies, failed to knit them together into a coherent nation.

“India was destined, by her position, to receive the human overflow from the ancient breeding-grounds of central Asia. Waves of conquest from the north were as inevitable in early times as are the tidal waves from the ocean at the present day. But such conquests, although rapid, were seldom enduring; and although widespread, were never complete. The religious and social organization of Hinduism never succumbed. The greatest of India’s conquerors, the Moguls, were being hemmed in by Hindu confederacies before their supremacy had lasted 175 years. So far as can now be estimated, the advance of the British alone saved the Delhi empire from dismemberment by three Hindu military powers, the Marathas, Rajputs, and Sikhs. The British rule has endured because it is wielded in the joint interest of the Indian races.

“But while these thoughts have long been present in my mind, I have not obtruded them on my pages. For I hope that this little book will reach the hands of many who look on history as a record of events, rather than as a compendium of philosophy. The greatest service which an Indian historian can at present render to India, is to state the facts accurately and in such a way that they will be read. If my story is found to combine truth with simplicity, it will have attained all that I aimed at. If it teaches young Englishmen and young natives of India to think more kindly of each other, I shall esteem myself richly rewarded.”

In prefacing his twenty-first edition, the author adds: “On my own part, no pains have been spared to render this edition an improvement on its predecessors. Although compressed into a small size, it essays to embody the latest results of Indian historical research, and of that more critical examination of the Indian records

which forms so important a feature of recent Indian work. My endeavor has been to present the history of India in an attractive and accurate narrative, yet within a compass which will place it within reach of the ordinary English and American reader, and render it available as a text-book for English and Indian colleges or schools." Acknowledgment is also made to the various scholars who had rendered him service in the preparation of the new edition, and especially to Mr. H. Morse Stephens, who was then Lecturer on Indian History to the University of Cambridge, but is now Professor of History in the University of California. It is to Professor Stephens that the editor is indebted for his interest in the history of India, and for much of his knowledge of the subject.

This edition is based upon the twenty-third English edition by the kind permission of the delegates of the Clarendon Press, who have courteously extended the privilege of preparing the revised work for American readers.

The author's text has been preserved as completely as possible, but slight changes have been made to adapt the volume to this series and a few slight errors have been corrected. In addition to these merely verbal changes, a few irrelevant sentences have been omitted. Additions of two sorts have been made. Sentences, and, in some places, paragraphs, have been inserted to cover certain points which the author had omitted for the sake of condensation, but which it has been deemed desirable to insert to make the account more complete and satisfactory. Such insertions are drawn, as far as possible, from material in other books by Sir William Hunter. In place of chapter XII the more complete corresponding chapter from Hunter's "Indian Empire" has been inserted, preceded by an account of the development of European knowledge of India, written by the editor. Chapter XVI has been expanded by the editor and brought down to date, but Hunter's text is preserved as far as possible. In addition to these changes, the editor has inserted additional matter, intended in part to elucidate and in part to supplement the author's text. To most American readers reference books on India are not easily accessible, so that it has been thought desirable to give much supplementary information that would be unnecessary in the histories of other countries for which reference books are more plentiful and satisfactory. Several appendixes have been inserted as likely to be of use to the reader and the student, and the bibliography, without any pre-

tension to completeness, has been made full because the student, dependent upon the scant collections of Indian works in American libraries, may thus be enabled to find some one book, though all the rest are not accessible.

It is the hope of the editor that his part in the volume may contribute even in a slight measure to the accomplishment of the author's lofty purpose to make India better known and understood by the West, and to win for India the sympathy of the peoples who have attained to a degree of civilization, perhaps not always more advanced than that of India, but always so vastly different.

The editor takes pleasure in this place in acknowledging his indebtedness to friends who have assisted him in various ways in the preparation of this volume.

George M. Dutcher,

CONTENTS

INDIA

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE COUNTRY	3
II. THE PEOPLE	20
III. THE NON-ARYANS	25
IV. THE ARYANS IN INDIA	36
V. BUDDHISM. 543 B. C.-1000 A. D.	56
VI. THE GREEKS IN INDIA. 327-161 B. C.	67
VII. THE SCYTHIC INROADS. 100 B. C.-725 A. D.	72
VIII. GROWTH OF HINDUISM. 700-1500	75
IX. EARLY MOHAMMEDAN CONQUERORS. 714-1526	88
X. THE MOGUL DYNASTY. 1526-1761	109
XI. THE MARATHAS. 1650-1818	130
XII. EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS. 1498-1800	138
XIII. GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER. 1700-1805	178
XIV. THE CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH INDIA. 1805-1857	204
XV. THE SEPOY MUTINY OF 1857	232
XVI. INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN. 1858-1906	242

PERSIA

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY. 218-643 A. D.	313
II. FOREIGN RULE. 643-1502	325
III. THE NEW PERSIAN EMPIRE. 1502-1733	340
IV. MODERN PERSIA. 1733-1906	351
V. THE GOVERNMENT OF PERSIA	371
THE OPENING OF TIBET	377
THE CURRENCY QUESTION IN INDIA	383
FAMINES OF INDIA	386
BIBLIOGRAPHY	393
INDEX	405

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

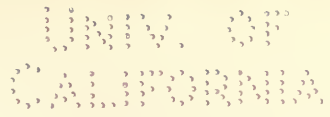
AT THE COURT OF THE MOGUL AT DELHI (Photogravure) *Frontispiece*

	FACING PAGE
BUDDHA AND HIS DISCIPLES	56
THE INTERIOR OF A JAIN TEMPLE	64
THE INTERIOR OF THE HINDU TEMPLE ON THE ISLAND OF RAMESWARAM	84
THE MARATHA MAHARAJAR OF HOLKAR AT THE BATTLE OF ASSAYE	136
WARREN HASTINGS	188
THE STORMING OF SERINGAPATAM	200
THE AMIR OF SIND SURRENDERS TO SIR CHARLES NAPIER	218
THE PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELLIOUS SEPOYS	238
THE PRINCE OF WALES IN INDIA	308
THE BODYGUARD OF A PERSIAN KING (Colored)	318
IN A PERSIAN CARPET BAZAAR	368

TEXT MAPS

	PAGE
INDIA—PHYSICAL FEATURES	14
ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE IN THE EAST	68
THE FIVE MARATHA HOUSES	134
EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA	164
ANGLO-INDIA. 1760	185
BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN FARTHER INDIA	211
THE RAILROADS OF INDIA	224
THE MUTINY	236
THE INDIAN EMPIRE. 1886	268
THE PLAGUE DISTRICTS. 1896-1906	284
GREATEST EXTENT OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE	317
RELIGIOUS STATUS. 700 A. D.	327
ASIA. CIRCA 1400 A. D.	338
MODERN PERSIA	345
THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE IN CENTRAL ASIA	367

HISTORY OF INDIA



HISTORY OF INDIA

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY

INDIA is a great three-cornered country, stretching southward from mid-Asia into the ocean. Its northern base rests upon the Himalaya ranges; the chief part of its western side is washed by the Arabian Sea, and the chief part of its eastern side by the Bay of Bengal. While thus guarded along the whole length of its boundaries by nature's defenses, the mountains and the ocean, it has on its northeastern and on its northwestern frontiers two opposite sets of gateways which connect it with the rest of Asia. On the northeast it is bounded by the wild hill regions between Burma and the Chinese empire or Tibet; on the northwest by the Mohammedan states of Afghanistan and Baluchistan; and two streams of population of widely diverse types have poured into India by the passes at these northeastern and northwestern corners.

India extends from the eighth to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, that is, from the hot regions near the equator to far within the temperate zone, and approximately from the latitude of Panama to the latitude of Nashville, or from Sierra Leone to Gibraltar. The capital, Calcutta, lies in 88 degrees of east longitude; so that, when the sun sets at six o'clock there, it is just past midday in England, and at Washington, which is just eleven hours later than Calcutta, it would be only seven o'clock in the morning. The length of India from north to south, and its greatest breadth from east to west, are both about 1900 miles; but it tapers with a pear-shaped curve to a point at Cape Comorin, its southern extremity. To this compact dominion the English have added Burma, or the country on the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. The whole territory thus described contains over 1,750,000 square miles, and 294,000,000 of inhabitants. India, therefore, has an area almost equal to, and a population in excess of, the area and population of all Europe, less Russia; it is very nearly equal to the area of the United States east of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New

Mexico; and the population is about three and one-half times the total population of the United States and its dependencies.

This noble empire is rich in varieties of scenery and climate, from the highest mountains in the world to vast river-deltas, raised only a few inches above the level of the sea. It teems with the products of nature, from the fierce beasts and tangled jungles of the tropics, to the stunted barley crop which the hillman rears, and the small furred animal which he traps, within sight of the eternal snow. If we could look down on the whole from a balloon, we should find that India is made up of four well-defined tracts. The first includes the Himalaya Mountains, which shut India out from the rest of Asia on the north; the second stretches southward from their foot, and comprises the plains of the great rivers which issue from the Himalayas; the third tract slopes upward again from the southern edge of the river plains, and consists of a high, three-sided tableland, dotted with peaks, and covering the southern half of India; the fourth is Burma on the east of the Bay of Bengal.

The first of these four regions is composed of the Himalayas and their offshoots to the southward. The Himalayas (meaning, in Sanskrit, the abode of snow) form two irregular mountain walls, running nearly parallel to each other east and west, with a hollow trough or valley beyond. The southernmost of these walls rises steeply from the plains of India to over 20,000 feet, or four miles in height. It culminates in Mount Everest (named for Sir George Everest, a surveyor general of India), 29,002 feet, the highest peak in the world. The crests then subside on the northward into a series of dips, lying about 13,000 feet above the sea. Behind these dips rises the inner range of the Himalayas, a second wall of mountains and snow. Beyond the double wall thus formed is the great trough or line of valleys in which the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra gather their waters. From the northern side of these valleys rises the tableland of Tibet, 16,000 feet above the sea. The Himalayas shut out India from the rest of Asia. Their heights between Tibet and India are crowned with eternal snow; while vast glaciers, one of which is known to be sixty miles in length, slowly move their masses of ice downward to the valleys. This wild region is in many parts impenetrable to man, and nowhere yields a route for an army, but bold parties of traders, wrapped in sheepskins, force their way across its passes, 18,000 feet high. The bones of worn-out mules and ponies mark their path. The little yak

cow, whose bushy tail is manufactured into lace in Europe, is employed in the Himalayas as a beast of burden, and patiently toils up the steepest gorges with a heavy load on her back. The sheep are also used to carry bags of borax to markets near the plains. They are then shorn of their fleeces and eaten as mutton. A few return into the inner mountains laden with sugar and cloth.

The Himalayas not only form a double wall along the north of India, but at both ends send out hilly offshoots southward, which protect its northeastern and northwestern boundaries. On the northeast, these offshoots, under the name of the Naga and Patkoi Mountains, form a barrier between the civilized British districts and the wild tribes of upper Burma, but the barrier is pierced, just at the corner where it strikes southward from the Himalayas, by a passage through which the Brahmaputra River rushes into the Assam Valley. On the opposite or northwestern frontier of India, the hilly offshoots run down the entire length of the British boundary from the Himalayas to the sea. As they proceed southward, they are in turn known as the Safed Koh, the Sulaiman Range, and the Hala Mountains. This western barrier has peaks over 11,000 feet in height; but it is pierced at the corner where it strikes southward from the Himalayas by an opening, the Khaibar Pass, near which the Kabul River flows into India. The Khaibar Pass, 3400 feet high, with the Kuram Pass to the south of it, the Gwalari Pass near Dera Ismail Khan, and the famous Bolan Pass, 5800 feet high, still farther south, form the gateways from India to Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

Portions of this mountainous region formed by the Himalayas and their offshoots and foothills are included within the provinces of Burma, Assam, the United Provinces, and the Punjab, while the Northwest Frontier Province, formed in 1901, is distinctively a mountain region and controls the important Khaibar, Kuram, and Gwalari Passes. British Baluchistan lies largely on the further side of the mountains and controls the famous Bolan Pass. The independent native states of Bhutan and Nepal, and the dependent native states of Sikkim and Kashmir, lie in the Himalayas along the northern frontier; and on the west is Baluchistan, with various petty native states extending along the frontier northward to Chitral, at the junction of the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas.

The rugged Himalayas, while thus keeping out enemies, are a source of food and wealth to the Indian people. They collect and

store up water for the hot plains below. Throughout the summer, vast quantities of moisture are exhaled from the distant tropical seas. This moisture gathers into vapor, and is carried northward by the monsoon, or regular wind, which sets in from the south in the month of June. The monsoon drives the masses of vapor northward before it across the length and breadth of India,—sometimes in the form of long processions of clouds, which a native poet has likened to flights of great white birds; sometimes in the shape of rainstorms, which crash through the forests, and leave a line of unroofed villages and flooded fields on their track. The moisture which does not fall as rain on its aerial voyage over India is at length dashed against the Himalayas. These stop its further progress northward, and the moisture descends as rain on their outer slopes, or is frozen into snow in its attempts to cross their inner heights. Very little moisture passes beyond them, so that while their southern sides receive the heaviest rainfall in the world, and pour it down in torrents to the Indian rivers, the great plain of Tibet on the north gets scarcely any rain. At Cherra Punji, where the monsoon first strikes the hills in Assam, 523 inches of rain fall annually; while in one year (1861) as many as 805 inches are reported to have poured down, of which 366 inches fell in the single month of June. While, therefore, the mean annual rainfall of either Boston, New York, or Washington is about 45 inches, and London about two feet, and that of the plains of India from one to seven, the usual rainfall at Cherra Punji is thirty feet, or enough to float the largest man-of-war; while in one year sixty-seven feet of water fell from the sky, or sufficient to drown a four-story building.

This heavy rainfall renders the southern slopes of the Himalayas very fertile. Their upper ranges form bare gray masses, but wherever there is any depth of soil a forest springs up; and the damp belt of lowland at their foot, called the Tarai, is covered with a dense fever-breeding jungle, habitable only by a few rude tribes and wild beasts. Thickets of tree-ferns and bamboos adorn their eastern ranges; tracts of rhododendron, which here grows into a forest tree, blaze red and pink in the spring; the deodar, or Himalayan cedar, rises in dark stately masses. The branches of the trees are themselves clothed with mosses, ferns, and flowering creepers or orchids. In the autumn, crops of red and yellow millet run in ribbons of brilliant color down the hillsides. The chief saleable

products of the Himalayas are timber and charcoal; barley, small grains or millets, grown in the hot valleys and upon terraces formed with much labor on the slopes; potatoes, other vegetables, and honey. Strings of ponies and mules straggle with their burdens along the narrow paths, at places cut out of the sheer precipice. The muleteers and their hard-working wives load themselves also with pine stems and conical baskets of grain.

The high price of wood on the plains has caused many of the hills to be stripped of their trees, so that the rainfall now rushes quickly down their bare slopes, and no new woods can spring up. The potato crop, introduced from England, led to a further destruction of timber. The hillman cleared his potato ground by burning a ring round the trunks of the great trees, and laying out the side of the mountain into terraces. In a few years the bark dropped off the trees, and the forest stood bleached and ruined. Some of the trees rotted on the ground, like giants fallen in a confused fight; others still remain upright, with white trunks and skeleton arms. In the end, the rank green potato crop marked the spot where a forest had been slain and buried. Several of the ruder hill tribes followed an even more wasteful mode of tillage. Destitute of either plows or cattle, they burned down the jungle, and exhausted the soil by a quick succession of crops, raised by the hoe. In a year or two the whole settlement moved off to a fresh patch of jungle, which they cleared and exhausted, and then deserted in like manner. The forests of India are now under the charge of the forest department of the government of India and of the provincial forest departments. The father of Indian forestry was a German, Dietrich Brandis (born 1824, knighted 1887), who was called from the University of Bonn by Lord Dalhousie and sent to British Burma in 1856. He became the first inspector-general of forests in 1864 and held the office until 1883. He at first arranged for the training of his English subordinates at the French school at Nancy and at the German schools, but in 1885 a course in forestry was established at the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill. Native foresters are trained at the school opened at Dehra Dun in 1878 and at the newer schools at Poona and at Tharawadi. The Indian forest administration¹ is now regulated by an act passed in 1878.

¹ Berthold Ribbentrop, who was inspector-general from 1889 to 1900, has published "Forestry in British India" (Calcutta, 1900), which may be consulted in addition to the various official reports and surveys which have been published by the Indian and provincial governments.

The special feature of the Himalayas, however, is that they send down the rainfall from their northern as well as from their southern slopes upon the Indian plains. For, as we have seen, they form a double mountain-wall, with a deep trough or valley beyond. Even the rainfall which passes beyond their outer or southern heights is stopped by their inner or northern ridges, and drains into the trough behind. Of the three great rivers of India—the two longest—namely, the Indus and the Brahmaputra—take their rise in this trough lying on the north of the double wall of the Himalayas; while the third, the Ganges, receives its waters from their southern slopes.

The Indus, with its mighty feeder the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra rise not very far from each other, in lonely valleys, which are separated from India by mountain barriers 15,000 feet high. The Indus and the Sutlej first flow westward. Then, turning south, through openings in the Himalayas, they join with shorter rivers in the Punjab, and their united stream falls into the Indian Ocean after a course of 1800 miles.

The Brahmaputra, on the other hand, strikes to the east, flowing behind the Himalayas until it searches out a passage for itself through their clefts at the northeastern corner of Assam. It then turns sharply round to the west, and afterward to the south, and so finally reaches the Bay of Bengal. Like the Indus, it has a course of about 1800 miles. Thus, while the Indus and the Brahmaputra rise close to each other behind the Himalayas, and run an almost equal course, their mouths lie 1500 miles apart, on the opposite sides of India. Both of them have a long secret existence in the trough between the double mountain wall before they pierce through the hills; and they bring to the Indian plains the drainage from the northern slopes of the Himalayas. Indeed, the first part of the course of the Brahmaputra is still unexplored. It bears the name of the Sanpu for nearly a thousand miles of its passage behind the Himalayan wall, and it is not till it bursts through the mountains into India that the noble stream receives its Sanskrit name of Brahmaputra, the son of Brahma or God.

The Ganges and its great tributary the Jumna collect the drainage from the southern slopes of the Himalayas; they join their waters to those of the Brahmaputra as they approach the sea, and, after a course of 1500 miles, enter the Bay of Bengal by a vast network of channels.

The wide plains watered by the Himalayan rivers form the second of the four regions into which I have divided India. They extend from the Bay of Bengal on the east to the Indian Ocean on the west, and contain the richest and most densely-crowded provinces of the Indian empire. One set of invaders after another have, from very ancient times, entered by the passes at their northeastern and northwestern corners, and, following the courses of the rivers, pushed the earlier comers south toward the sea. About 150,000,000 of people now live on and around these river plains, in the provinces known as Lower Bengal, Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Sind, and in Rajputana, and other native states. The Indus brings water from the Himalayas to the western side of the river plains of northern India, the Brahmaputra to their eastern, while the Ganges and its feeders fertilize their central region.

The Indus, after it unites the five rivers of the Punjab, ceases to obtain further tributaries, and the great desert of Rajputana stretches from its left bank. The Brahmaputra, on the extreme east of the plains, passes down the still thinly-inhabited valley of Assam; and it is only in the lower part of its course, as it approaches the Ganges, that a dense population is found on its margin. But the Ganges and its great tributary the Jumna flow for nearly a thousand miles almost parallel to the Himalayas, and receive many streams from them. They do the work of water-carrier for most of northern India, and the people reverence the bountiful rivers which fertilize their fields. The sources of the Ganges and Jumna in the mountains are held sacred; their point of junction at Allahabad is yearly visited by thousands of pilgrims; and a great religious gathering takes place each January on Sagar Island, where the united stream formerly poured into the sea. To bathe in Mother Ganges, as she is lovingly called, purified from sin during life; and the devout Hindu died in the hope that his ashes would be borne by her waters to the ocean. The Ganges is also a river of great cities. Calcutta, Patna, and Benares are built on her banks; Agra and Delhi on those of her tributary the Jumna; and Allahabad on the tongue of land where the two sister streams unite.

In order to understand the Indian plains, we must have a clear idea of the part played by these great rivers; for the rivers first create the land, then fertilize it, and finally distribute its produce. The plains were in many parts upheaved by volcanic forces, or de-

posited in an aqueous era, long before man appeared on the earth. In other parts the plains of northern India have been formed out of the silt which the rivers bring down from the mountains, and at this day we may stand by and watch the ancient, silent process of land-making go on. A great Bengal river like the Ganges has two distinct stages in its career from the Himalayas to the sea. In the first stage of its course, it runs along the bottom of valleys, receives the drainage and mud of the country on both sides, absorbs tributaries, and rushes forward with an ever-increasing volume of water and silt. By the time that the Ganges reaches the middle of Lower Bengal, it enters on the second stage of its life. Finding its speed checked by the equal level of the plains, it splits out into several channels, like a jet of water suddenly obstructed by the finger, or a jar of liquid dashed on the floor. Each of the new streams thus created throws off its own set of channels to left and right.

The country which these numerous channels or offshoots inclose and intersect forms the delta of Bengal. The network of streams struggles slowly across this vast flat; and the currents are no longer able, owing to their diminished speed, to carry along the silt or sand which the more rapid parent river had brought down from northern India. The sluggish split-up rivers of the delta accordingly drop their burden of silt in their channels or on their margins, producing almond-shaped islands, and by degrees raising their beds above the surrounding plains. In this way the rivers of a delta build themselves up, as it were, into high-level canals, which in the rainy season overflow their banks, and leave their silt upon the low country on either side. Thousands of square miles in Lower Bengal thus receive each autumn a top-dressing of new soil, brought free of cost by the river currents from the distant Himalayas—a system of natural manuring which yields a constant succession of rich crops.

As the rivers creep further down the delta, they become more and more sluggish, and raise their beds still higher above the adjacent plains. Each set of channels has a depressed tract or swamp on both sides, so that the lowest levels in a delta lie often about half-way between the rivers. The stream overflows into these depressed tracts, and gradually fills them up with its silt. The water which rushes from the rivers into the swamps is sometimes yellow from the quantity of silt or sand which it carries. When it has stood a few days in the swamps, and the river flood subsides, the

water flows back from the swamps into the river channels; but it has dropped all its silt, and is of a clear, dark-brown hue. The silt remains in the swamp, and by degrees fills it up, thus slowly creating new land.

The last scene in the life of an Indian river is a wilderness of forest and swamp at the end of its delta, amid whose malarious solitudes the network of channels merges into the sea. Here all the secrets of land-making stand disclosed. The streams, finally checked by the dead weight of the sea, deposit their remaining silt, which rises above the surface of the water in the shape of banks or curved headlands. The ocean currents also find themselves impeded by the downflow from the rivers, and drop the burden of sand which the tides sweep along the coast. In this way, while the shore gradually grows out into the sea, owing to the deposit of river silt, islands or bars are formed around the river mouths from the sand dropped by the ocean currents, and a double process of land-making goes on.

The great Indian rivers, therefore, not only supply new ground by depositing islands in their beds, and by filling up the low-lying tracts or swamps beyond their margins, but also by forming banks and capes and masses of land at their mouths. They slowly construct their deltas by driving back the sea. The land which they thus create, they also fertilize. In the lower parts of their course their overflow affords a natural system of irrigation and manuring; in the higher parts, man has to step in, and to bring their water by canals to the fields. They form, moreover, cheap highways for carrying the produce of the country to the towns and seaports; and what the arteries are to the human body, the rivers are to the plains of Bengal.

But the very vastness of their energy causes terrible calamities. Scarcely a year passes without floods, which sweep off cattle and grain stores, and the thatched cottages, with anxious families perched on their roofs. In the upper part of their courses, where their water is carried by canals to the fields, the rich irrigated lands sometimes breed fever, and are in places destroyed and rendered sterile by a saline crust called reh. The formation of reh has been described by Eliot James as follows: "Where the subsoil water level is sufficiently near the surface, the strong evaporating force of the sun's heat, aided by capillary attraction, draws to the surface of the ground the water holding these salts (chiefly sodium sulphate

mixed with sodium chloride and sodium carbonate) in solution, and these compel the water which passes off in the form of vapor, to leave behind the salts it held, as a white efflorescence." Even grass will not grow where this substance is thus found on the soil.

Farther down, the uncontrollable rivers wriggle across the face of the country, deserting their old beds, and searching out new channels for themselves, it may be at a distance of many miles. During these restless changes, they drown the lands and villages that lie in their path; and a Bengal proprietor has sometimes to look on helplessly while his estate is being converted into the new bed of a broad, deep stream. Even in their quiet moods the rivers steadily steal land from the old owners, and give it capriciously to a fresh set. Each autumn the mighty currents undermine, and then rend away, the fields and hamlets on their margins. Their activity in land-making stops up their channels with newly formed islands, and has thus left high and dry in ruin many a once important city along their banks. The ancient harbors at their mouths have in like manner been land-locked and shut off from the sea by islands and bars formed from the silt or sand jointly deposited by the rivers and the ocean currents.

Throughout the river plains of Bengal two harvests, and in some provinces three, are reaped each year. In many districts, indeed, the same fields have to yield two crops within the twelve months. Wheat and various grains, pease, pulses, oil-seeds, and green crops of many sorts are reaped in spring; the early rice crops in September; the great rice harvest of the year and other grains in November or December. Before these last have been gathered in, it is time to prepare the ground again for the spring crops; and the husbandman knows no rest except during the hot weeks of May, when he is anxiously waiting for the rains. The northern and drier regions, along the higher courses of the rivers, roll upward from their banks into fertile plains, dotted with mud-built villages, and adorned with noble trees. Mango groves scent the air with their blossom in spring, and yield their abundant fruit in summer. The spreading banian with its colonnades of hanging roots, the stately pipal (*ficus religiosa*), or sacred fig tree, with its masses of foliage, the leafless wild cotton-tree laden with its heavy red flowers, the tall feathery tamarind, and the quick-growing babul (*acacia arabica*), the wood of which is used for making agricultural implements and the bark for tanning, rear their heads above the crop

fields. As the rivers approach the coast, the palms begin to take possession of the scene.

The ordinary landscape in the Bengal delta is a flat stretch of rice fields, fringed round with evergreen masses of bamboos, cocoanuts, areca, and other coroneted palms. This densely-peopled tract seems at first sight bare of villages, for each hamlet is hidden amid its own grove of plantains and wealth-giving trees. The crops also change as we sail down the rivers. In the north, the principal grains are wheat, barley, and millets, such as joar and bajra. The two last form the food of the masses, rice, in northern Bengal, being only grown on irrigated lands, and consumed by the rich. *Sorghum vulgare*, or Indian millet, is used as a fodder and from its seed a bread is made. In the delta, on the other hand, rice is the staple crop and the universal diet. More than a hundred varieties of it are known to the Bengal peasant. Sugar cane, oil-seeds, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and many precious spices and dyes grow both in the north and the south. The tea-plant is reared on several hilly ranges which skirt the plains, but chiefly around Darjiling or in the Dwars and Assam; *pennisetum typhoideum* is used especially for feeding cattle and horses; the opium poppy, about half-way down the Ganges, near Benares and Patna; the silkworm mulberry, still farther down in Lower Bengal; while the jute fiber is essentially a crop of the delta, and would exhaust any soil not fertilized by river floods. Even the jungles yield the costly lac dye and tasar silk cocoons. Lac is a resinous substance deposited on twigs by the female lac insect, *carteria lacca*, which yields a scarlet dye used for woollens and leather. The residue, after the extraction of the dye, is the shellac of commerce. Tasar, or tusser-silk, is the product of *antheræa paphia* and other wild silkworms, and is used only for plainly woven fabrics. To name all the crops of the river plains would weary the reader. Nearly every vegetable product which feeds and clothes a people, or enables it to trade with foreign nations, abounds here.

Having thus glanced at the leading features of the Himalayas on the north, and of the great river plains at their base, I come now to the third division of India, namely, the three-sided tableland which covers the southern half of the peninsula. This tract, known in ancient times as the Deccan, or the South (*dakshin*), comprises the Central Provinces, Berar, Madras, and Bombay, and the native

territories of Mysore, of the nizam, Sindhia, Holkar, and other feudatory princes. It slopes upward from the southern edge of the Gangetic plains. Two sacred mountains stand as outposts on the extreme east and west, with confused ranges stretching eight hundred miles between. At the western extremity, Mount Abu, famous for its exquisite Jain temples, rises 5650 feet from the Rajputana plains, like an island out of the sea. The Aravalli chain, the Vind-



hya Mountains, the Satpura and Kaimur Ranges, with other highland tracts, run across the country eastward until they abut on the Ganges Valley, under the name of the Rajmahal Hills. On the eastern edge of the central mountainous region, Mount Parasnath, also sacred to Jain rites, towers 4400 feet above the level of the Gangetic plains.

These various ranges form, as it were, the northern wall and buttresses on which rests the central tableland of India. Now

pierced by road and rail, they stood in former times as a barrier of mountain and jungle between northern and southern India, and greatly increased the difficulty of welding the whole into one empire. The three-cornered tableland forms a vast mass of forests, ridges, and peaks, broken by cultivated valleys and high-lying plains. Its eastern and western sides are known as the Ghats, a word applied to a flight of steps up a river bank or to a mountain pass. The Eastern Ghats run in fragmentary spurs and ranges down the Madras side of India, sometimes receding inland, and leaving broad plains between them and the coast. The Western Ghats form a great sea-wall for the Bombay presidency, with only a narrow strip between them and the shore. At places they rise in magnificent precipices and headlands almost out of the ocean, and truly look like colossal "landing-stairs" from the sea. The Eastern and Western Ghats meet at an angle near Cape Comorin at the southern extremity of India, and so complete the three sides of the tableland. The inner plateau itself lies far below the snow line, and its ordinary elevation seldom exceeds 2000 to 3000 feet. Its best-known hills are the Nilgiris (Blue Mountains), which contain the summer capital of Madras, Utakamand, 7000 feet above the sea. The highest point is Dodabetta peak, 8760 feet, at the southern extremity of Mysore.

This inner region of highlands sends its waters chiefly to the eastern coast. The drainage from the northern or Vindhyan edge of the three-sided tableland falls into the Ganges. The Narbada runs along the southern base of the Vindhya, and carries their southern drainage due west into the Gulf of Cambay. The Tapti flows almost parallel to the Narbada, a little to the southward, and bears to the Gulf of Cambay the waters from the Satpura Hills. From this point, as we proceed southward, the Western Ghats rise into a high unbroken barrier between the Bombay coast and the waters of the inner tableland. The drainage has therefore to make its way right across India to the eastward, now twisting round hill ranges, now rushing down the valleys between them, until the rain, which the Bombay seabreeze dropped upon the Western Ghats, finally falls into the Bay of Bengal. In this way the three great rivers of the Madras presidency—namely, the Godavari, the Krishna (Kistna), and the Kaveri—rise in the mountains overhanging the Bombay coast, and traverse the whole breadth of the central tableland before they reach the ocean on the eastern shores of India.

The ancient Sanskrit poets speak of the southern tableland as buried under forests; and sal, ebony, sissu, teak, and other great trees abound. *Shorea robusta* flourishes in northern India and furnishes the most extensively-used timber in that region next to teak. *Dalbergia sissu* yields a compact, durable timber used for railroad ties and in shipbuilding, and for other similar purposes. The Ghats, in particular, are covered with magnificent vegetation wherever a sapling can take root. But tillage has now driven back the jungle to the hilly recesses; and fields of wheat, and many kinds of smaller grain or millets, tobacco, cotton, sugar cane, and pulses, spread over the open country. The black soil of southern India is proverbial for its fertility; and the lowlands between the Ghats and the sea rival even Lower Bengal in their fruit-bearing palms, rice harvests, and rich succession of crops. The inner tableland is, however, very liable to droughts; and the people have devised a varied system of irrigation, in some districts from wells, in others from tanks, or from artificial lakes formed by damming up the mouths of river valleys. They thus store the rain brought during a few months by the northern and southern monsoons, and husband it for use throughout the whole year. The food of the common people consists chiefly of small grains or millets, such as joar, bajra, and ragi (*cynosurus corocanus*). The principal exports are cotton and wheat. It is, moreover, on the three-sided tableland, and among the hilly spurs which project from it, that the mineral wealth of India lies hidden. Coal mining now forms a great industry, both on the northeastern edge of the tableland in Bengal, and in the valleys of the Central Provinces. Beds of iron ore and limestone hold out a prospect of metal-smelting on a large scale in the future; copper and other metals exist in small quantities. The diamonds of Golconda were long famous. Gold dust has from very ancient times been washed out of many of the river beds; and gold mining is now being attempted on scientific principles in the Madras presidency and in Mysore.

Burma, the fourth region, which the English have incorporated into the Indian empire, consists mainly of the valley of the Irawadi, and a strip of coast along the east side of the Bay of Bengal. It stretches north and south, with the sea on the west, a backbone of lofty ranges running down the middle, and the mountainous frontier of the Chinese empire and Siam on the east. The central backbone of ranges in Burma is formed by the Yoma Moun-

tains. They are covered with dense forests, and separate the Irawadi Valley from the strip of coast. The river floats down an abundant supply of teak from the north. A thousand creeks indent the seaboard; and the whole of the level country, both on the coast and in the Irawadi Valley, forms a vast rice field. Tobacco of an excellent quality supplies the cigars which all Burmese men and women smoke; and large quantities of tobacco leaf are also brought over from the Madras presidency. Until 1886 British Burma was divided into three provinces—Arakan, or the northern coast strip; Pegu, or the Irawadi Valley in the middle; and Tenasserim, or the narrow maritime tract and islands running down from the south of the Irawadi delta. In 1886 Upper Burma, or the old kingdom of Ava, was added to the British empire. Arakan and Pegu contain mineral oil springs. Tenasserim is rich in tin mines, and in iron ores equal to the finest Swedish, besides gold and copper in smaller quantities, and a very pure limestone. Rice and timber form the staple exports of Burma and rice is also the universal food of the people. The most important ruby mines in the world are located near Mandalay, and produce the famous pigeon-blood rubies.

The continental portion of the Indian empire, which has now been described, is at present administered in thirteen provinces under direct British rule and in fifteen groups of native states under British protection of some form or other. In addition to the continental territories, there are several outlying groups of islands and other isolated bits of territory that administratively are reckoned as a portion of the Indian empire. It is to be noted, however, that the Island of Ceylon, though lying immediately adjacent to the shores of India, is not a part of the empire, but is administered as a crown colony. The Maldiv Islands situated southwest of Cape Comorin are a dependency of Ceylon and not of the Indian empire.

A fourteenth province of the Indian empire is composed of the chain of islands which extends from Cape Negrais at the southwestern point of Burma to Achin Head, the northwestern point of Sumatra. This chain is divided into two groups, the Andamans and the Nicobars. The Andamans are the more northerly group and include four large islands and numerous small ones with an area of more than 2500 square miles. The natives are an aboriginal race of the negrito type, and of the lowest and least intelligent sort. They were long notorious for their cannibal practices. They are now reduced to less than 2000 in number and are slowly

dying out. The only important product of the islands is timber. Lieutenant Archibald Blair made a complete survey of the islands in 1789-1790 and the Indian government maintained a small colony in the islands until May, 1796, when they were abandoned. The cruel treatment and murder of shipwrecked mariners and other visitors to the islands led the British government to take measures for the reoccupation of the islands and in 1858 they were made a penal settlement to which many of the Indian mutineers were transported. The chief station is Port Blair on South Andaman Island, which has one of the finest harbors in the world. The more southerly group, known as the Nicobars, consists of the large island of Great Nicobar and of eighteen smaller ones. The total area is 635 square miles and the population of about 6000 is made up almost entirely of natives, who are apparently of Malay origin and who were formerly notorious pirates and wreckers. The only valuable product of the islands is the cocoanut. After attempting vainly for a century to establish control of the islands, Denmark abandoned them in 1858. The piratical behavior of the natives led the English to annex them in 1869. The British station is Nancowry, on the Island of Camorta, with an excellent harbor. In 1872 the two groups were united into a province of the Indian empire under a chief commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and superintendent of Port Blair. The total area is 3188 square miles and the population in 1901 was 24,649, of whom half were life convicts—the number being 12,723 in 1903.

The Laccadive Islands, off the Malabar coast, are fourteen in number. The population was 10,274 in 1901, and is of Hindu race, but Mohammedan faith. The more northerly islands belong to the district of South Kanara and the others to the district of Malabar, so that they form a part of the Madras presidency.

Aden and its dependencies, which are administered as a part of the Bombay presidency, are the most important of the outlying territories of India. Though the Portuguese had relations with Aden from the beginning of the sixteenth century they never regularly occupied the place. The English first visited it in 1607 and maintained an irregular intercourse with it until its annexation in 1839. It was the first colonial acquisition during the reign of Queen Victoria. Its area has been extended by further acquisitions in 1840, 1868, and 1882, making a total of seventy-five square miles. To this was added in 1857 the Island of Perim, with an

area of five square miles. In 1854 the Kuriah Muriah Islands, five in number, were acquired from the sultan of Muscat for the landing of the Red Sea cable; and they are now leased for guano collection. By arrangements made with the sultan of Socotra in 1876 and 1886 that island was placed under British protection. It has an area of 1382 square miles and a population of about 4000, mostly Mohammedans. Perim is located in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb at the entrance of the Red Sea; the peninsula of Aden is on the Arabian coast 100 miles to the eastward; the Kuriah Muriah Islands are also off the Arabian coast 900 miles east of the straits; and Socotra lies in the Indian Ocean east of Cape Guardafui. Aden has been a free port since 1850 and its importance was greatly enhanced by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Its population in 1901 was 43,974. It is the only fortified point between Egypt and Bombay and has a considerable garrison. It is administered by a political resident, who is also commander of the troops, and who has generally been appointed from the officers of the Bombay army. He also has cognizance of the agreements and treaties made by the Indian government with the local chiefs along the whole southern coast of Arabia.

British interests in the Persian Gulf also come under the supervision of the government of India. The pearl fisheries are controlled by the possession of the Island of Bahrein and the group of islets surrounding it under an arrangement with the local sheik or chief whose position is dependent upon British protection. Besides Manameh and Moharek, each with a population of upward of 20,000, there are fifty villages in the islands, which are located on the Arabian coast of the gulf and have an area of about 300 square miles. The government of India has engagements and treaties with numerous chiefs along the shores of the Persian Gulf and also with the sultan of Muscat. These interests are supervised by a political resident, who is also consul general and is resident at Bushire, on the eastern shore of the gulf. In 1903, the viceroy, Lord Curzon, made a tour of the gulf with a naval escort and confirmed the arrangements with the "trucial chiefs," as they are called. England has suppressed piracy and the slave trade in the gulf, established lighthouses and other aids to navigation and has laid cables and in other ways developed her interests there, and opened the gulf to the world's commerce. England's interests in the Persian Gulf have been continuous since the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Chapter II

THE PEOPLE

INDIA is divided into two classes of territories: first, provinces under British rule; second, states under native chiefs. The population of the whole amounted in 1901 to 294,000,000, or more than double the number estimated for the Roman empire in the height of its power; but the English, even more than the Romans, have respected the rights of the native chiefs who are willing to govern well. Such chiefs still rule on their own account more than one-third of the area of India, with over 62,000,000 of subjects, or more than a fifth of the whole Indian people. The British territories, therefore, comprise about two-thirds of the area of India, and nearly four-fifths, or over 231,000,000 of its inhabitants.

The native princes govern their states with the help and under the advice of a British resident, whom the viceroy stations at their courts. Some of them reign almost as independent sovereigns; others have less power. They form a great body of feudatory rulers, possessed of revenues and armies of their own. The more important exercise the power of life and death over their subjects; but the authority of all is limited by treaties, by which they acknowledge their "subordinate dependence" to the British government. The British government, as suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to make war upon each other, or to form alliances with foreign states. It interferes when any chief misgoverns his people; rebukes, and if needful dethrones, the oppressor; protects the weak, and imposes peace upon all.

The British possessions are distributed into fourteen provinces. Each has its own governor or head; but all are controlled by the supreme government of India, consisting of a governor-general in council. The governor-general also bears the title of viceroy. He holds his court and government at Calcutta in the cold weather; and during summer at Simla, in the Himalayas, 7000 feet above the level of the sea. The viceroy of India is appointed by the ruler of

England; so also are the governors of Madras and Bombay. Of course the king is not personally responsible for these appointments, but the ministry which is in office, so that the appointment usually goes to a member of the party in power. The heads of the other provinces are chosen for their merit from the Anglo-Indian services, almost always from the civil service, and are nominated by the viceroy, subject in the case of the lieutenant governorships to the approval of the British secretary of state for India. The king of England is emperor of India, and is spoken of both officially and commonly in India as "the king-emperor."

British India is very thickly peopled; and some parts are so overcrowded that the inhabitants can with difficulty obtain land to cultivate. Each square mile of the British provinces has to feed, on an average, 213 persons. Each square mile of the native states has to feed, on an average, only 92 persons, or less than one-half. If we exclude the outlying provinces of Burma and Assam, the people in British India average 271 to the square mile; so that British India is almost three times more thickly inhabited than the native states. How thick this population is may be realized from the fact that, in 1901, France only had 186 people to the square mile, while even in crowded England, wherever the density approaches 200 to the square mile the population ceases to be rural, and has to live by manufactures, by mining, or by city industries. The density of Indian population is closely approximated by that of New Jersey, which in 1900 had 250 inhabitants to the square mile.

Unlike England, India has few large towns. Thus, in England and Wales 58 per cent. of the population, in 1901, lived in towns with upward of 20,000 inhabitants, while in British India only 5 per cent. of the people lived in such towns. India, therefore, is almost entirely a rural country; and many of the so-called towns are mere groups of villages, in the midst of which the cattle are driven afield, and plowing and reaping go on.

We see, therefore, in India, a dense population of husbandmen. Wherever their numbers exceed 1 to the acre, or 640 to the square mile—excepting near towns or in irrigated tracts—they find it difficult to raise sufficient crops from the land to supply them with food. Yet many millions of peasants in India are struggling to live off half an acre apiece. In such districts, if the rain falls short by a few inches, the people suffer great distress; if the rain fails to a large extent, thousands die of famine.

In some parts of India, therefore, there are more husbandmen than the land can feed. In other parts, vast tracts of fertile soil still await the cultivator. In England, the people would move freely from the over-populated districts to the thinly-inhabited ones. But in India the peasant clings to his fields; and parcels them out among his children, even when his family has grown too numerous to live upon the crops. If the Indian husbandmen would learn to migrate to tracts where spare land abounds, they would do more than the utmost efforts of government can accomplish to better themselves and to prevent famines.

It is not stupidity that makes the Indian peasant cling to his hereditary fields. In old days he could move to other districts or provinces only with great difficulty and danger. Roads for carts or wheeled traffic were few and far between; and in many parts of India existed only along the chief military routes. During the century of confusion and native misrule which preceded the establishment of the British power, traveling even by such roads as did exist was perilous owing to robbers and armed bands. Railroads and steamboats, which are the great modern distributors of population, were altogether unknown in India under native rule, and were introduced into India only about the middle of the nineteenth century. By the help of roads, railroads, and river steamers, it is now possible for the first time for the Indian peasants in overcrowded districts to move to districts where there is still spare land. The Indian cultivators are slowly but surely learning this, and they are moving in large numbers to thinly peopled districts in eastern and northern Bengal, Assam, and the Central Provinces.

Throughout many of the hill and frontier tracts land is so plentiful that it yields no rent. The hillmen settle for a few years in some fertile spot, which they clear of jungle. They then exhaust the soil by a rapid succession of crops, and leave it to relapse into forest. In such tracts no rent is charged; but each family of wandering husbandmen pays a poll-tax to the chief, under whose protection it dwells. As the inhabitants increase, this nomadic system of cultivation gives place to regular tillage. Throughout Burma we see both methods at work side by side; while in the thickly-peopled plains of India the "wandering husbandmen" have disappeared, and each peasant family remains rooted to the same plot of ground during many generations.

Yet only a hundred years ago there was more land even in

Bengal than there were cultivators to till it. The landlords had to tempt husbandmen to settle on their estates, by giving them land at low rents. Now the cultivators have grown so numerous that in some districts they will offer any rent for a piece of ground. The government has, therefore, had to pass laws to prevent too great a rise in rents. These laws recognize the rights of the cultivators in the fields which they have long tilled; and the rents of such hereditary husbandmen cannot be raised above fair rates, fixed by the courts.

In the old times the scarcity of people made each family of cultivators of great value to their landlord. In many parts of India, when once a peasant had settled in a village, he was not allowed to go away. In hill districts where the nomadic or wandering system of husbandry still survives, no family is allowed by the native chief to quit his territory; for each household pays a poll-tax to the chief, and the chief cannot afford to lose this money. In some provinces the English found the lower classes of husbandmen attached like serfs to the soil, and their officers in southeastern Bengal almost raised a rebellion by their efforts to liberate the rural slaves. The descendants of the old serfs still survive; but they are now freemen.

European writers formerly divided the Indian population into two races, the Hindus and the Mohammedans; but when we look more closely at the people, we find that they consist of four elements. First, the non-Aryan tribes, called the aborigines, who numbered in 1872 (when the first census of India was taken) about 18,000,000 in the British provinces. Second, the descendants of the Aryan or Sanskrit-speaking race, now called Brahmans and Rajputs, who numbered in 1872 about 16,000,000. Third, the great mixed population, generally known as the Hindus, which has grown out of the Aryan and non-Aryan elements (chiefly from the latter), and numbered in 1872 about 111,000,000. Fourth, the Mohammedans, who began to come to India about 1000 A. D., and who numbered in 1872 over 41,000,000. These made up the 186,000,000 of the people under British rule in 1872. Since then the population of British India has grown to over 231,000,000 in 1901. All the four sections of the population above mentioned have contributed to this increase, but many of the non-Aryan or aboriginal tribes have, during the past thirty years, been converted to the Hindu religion, and are now reckoned in the census as Hin-

dus. The same fourfold division applies to the population of the 62,000,000 in feudatory India.

The great sources of the Indian population were, therefore, the non-Aryans and the Aryans; and we must first try to get a clear view of these ancient peoples. Our earliest glimpses of India disclose two races struggling for the soil. The one was a fair-skinned people, which had lately entered by the northwestern passes—a people who called themselves Aryan, literally of “noble” lineage, speaking a stately language, worshipping friendly and powerful gods. These Aryans became the Brahmans and Rajputs of India. The other race was of a lower type, who had long dwelt in the land, and whom the lordly newcomers drove back into the mountains, or reduced to servitude on the plains. The comparatively pure descendants of these two races are now nearly equal in numbers; the intermediate castes, sprung chiefly from the ruder stock, make up the great mass of the Indian population. We shall afterward see that a third race, the Scythians, also played an important part in India, about the beginning of the Christian era. The Mohammedans belong to a period a thousand years later.

Chapter III

THE NON-ARYANS

THE oldest dwellers in India consisted of many tribes, who, in the absence of a race name of their own, are called the non-Aryans or aborigines. They have left no written records; indeed, the use of letters, or of any simplest hieroglyphics, was to them unknown. The sole works of their hands which have come down to us are rude stone circles, and the upright slabs and mounds beneath which, like the primitive peoples of Europe, they buried their dead. From the remains found in these tombs, we only discover that, at some far distant but unfixed period, they knew how to make round pots of hard thin earthenware, not inelegant in shape; that they fought with iron weapons and wore ornaments of copper and gold. Earlier remains prove, indeed, that these ancient tomb-builders formed only one link in a chain of primeval races. Before them, India was peopled by tribes unacquainted with metals, who hunted and warred with polished flint axes and other deftly wrought implements of stone, similar to those found in northern Europe. And even these were the successors of yet ruder beings, who have left their agate knives and rough flint weapons in the Narbada Valley. In front of this far-stretching background of the metal and stone ages, we see the so-called aborigines being beaten down by the newly-arrived Aryan race.

The victorious Aryans from western or west-central Asia called the earlier tribes whom they found in India Dasyus, or "enemies," and Dasas, or "slaves." The Aryans entered India from the colder north, and prided themselves on their fair complexion. Their Sanskrit word for "color" (*varna*) came to mean "race" or "caste." The old Aryan poets, who composed the Veda at least 3000 and perhaps 4000 years ago, praised their bright gods, who, "slaying the Dasyus, protected the Aryan color"; who "subjected the black-skin to the Aryan man." They tell us of their own

“stormy deities, who rush on like furious bulls and scatter the black-skin.” Moreover, the Aryan, with his finely-formed features, loathed the squat Mongolian¹ faces of the aborigines. One Vedic poet speaks of the Dasyus or non-Aryans as “noseless” or flat-nosed, while another praises his own “beautiful-nosed” gods. The same unsightly feature was noticed with regard to a non-Aryan Asiatic tribe, by the companions of Alexander the Great on his Indian expedition, more than a thousand years later. Indeed the Vedic hymns abound in scornful epithets for the primitive races of India, as “disturbers of sacrifices,” “gross feeders on flesh,” “raw-eaters,” “lawless,” “non-sacrificing,” “without gods,” and “without rites.” As time went on, and these rude tribes were driven back into the forest, they were painted in still more hideous shapes, till they became the “monsters” and “demons” of the Aryan poet and priest. Their ancient race-name, Dasyu, or “enemy,” thus grew to signify goblin or devil, as the old Teutonic word for enemy or “the hater” (modern German *feind*) has become the English “fiend.”

Nevertheless all the non-Aryan tribes of ancient India could not have been savages. We hear of wealthy Dasyus or non-Aryans; and the Vedic hymns speak of their “seven castles” and “ninety forts.” The Aryans afterward made alliance with non-Aryan tribes; and some of the most powerful kingdoms of India were ruled by non-Aryan kings. Nor were the non-Aryans devoid of religious rites, or of cravings after a future life. “They adorn,” says an ancient Sanskrit book, “the bodies of their dead with gifts, with raiment, with ornaments; imagining that thereby they shall attain the world to come.” These ornaments are the bits of bronze, copper, and gold which we now dig up from beneath their rude stone monuments. In the Ramayana, the Sanskrit epic which narrates the advance of the Aryans into southern India, a non-Aryan chief describes his race as “of fearful swiftness, unyielding in battle, in color like a dark-blue cloud.”

Let us now examine these primitive peoples as they exist at the present day. Thrust back by the Aryan invaders from the

¹ This word Mongolian is incorrect, according to the latest scholarship. Certainly some of the aborigines were in no way Mongolian, and in regard to the remainder, the extent of Mongolian influence is very uncertain. These peoples, most of whom are now classed by ethnologists as Dravidians, are of undetermined race kinship, the latest researches having disproved the theory of relationship with the natives of Australia.

plains, they have lain hidden away in the mountains, like the remains of extinct animals found in hill-caves. India thus forms a great museum of races, in which we can study man from his lowest to his highest stages of culture. The specimens are not fossils or dry bones, but living tribes, each with its own set of curious customs and religious rites.

Among the rudest fragments of mankind are the isolated Andaman islanders, or non-Aryans of the Bay of Bengal. The Arab and early European voyagers described them as dog-faced man-eaters. The English officers sent to the islands in 1855 to establish a settlement found themselves in the midst of naked cannibals; who daubed their bodies at festivals with red earth, and mourned for their dead friends by plastering themselves with dark mud. They used a noise like crying to express friendship or joy; bore only names of common gender, which they received before birth, and which therefore had to be applicable to either sex; and their sole conception of a god was an evil spirit, who spread disease. For five years they repulsed every effort at intercourse with showers of arrows; but English officers slowly brought them to a better frame of mind, by building sheds near the settlement, where some of these poor beings might find shelter and receive medicines and food.

The Anamalai Hills, in southern Madras, form the refuge of many non-Aryan tribes. The long-haired, wild-looking Pulliyars live on jungle products, mice, or any small animals they can catch; and worship demons. Another clan, the Mundavers, have no fixed dwellings, but wander over the innermost hills with their cattle. They shelter themselves in caves or under little leaf sheds, and seldom remain in one spot more than a year. The thick-lipped, small-bodied Kaders, "lords of the hills," are a remnant of a higher race. They live by the chase, and wield some influence over the ruder forest-folk. These hills abound in the great stone monuments (kistvaens and dolmens) which the ancient non-Aryans erected over their dead. The Nairs, the old military non-Aryan ruling race of southwestern India, still keep up the ancient system of polyandry, according to which one woman is the wife of several husbands, and a man's property descends not to his own sons, but to his sister's children. This system also appears among the non-Aryan tribes of the Himalayas at the opposite extremity of India.

Many wild tribes inhabit the mountain ranges which separate

northern from southern India. The best-known of these rude races are perhaps the Bhils, who dwell in the Vindhya Hills, from Udaipur state far north of the Narbada River, southward to the Khandesh agency in the Bombay presidency. They move about with their herds of sheep and goats through the jungly highlands, and eke out a spare livelihood by the chase and the natural products of the forest. In Udaipur state they are settled in little hamlets, each homestead being built on a separate hillock, so as to render it impossible for their enemies to surprise a whole village at once. A single family may be seized, but the shouts which it raises give the alarm to all the rest, and in a few minutes the war-cry spreads from hill to hill, and swarms of half-naked savages rush together in arms to beat off the intruder. Before the British rule the Bhils were the terror of the neighboring country, plundering and burning villages far and wide; while the native governments revenged themselves from time to time by fearful Bhil massacres. In 1818 the East India Company obtained the neighboring Bombay district of Khandesh, but its first expedition against the Bhils failed miserably; one-half of its number having perished of fever in the jungles. Soon afterward Sir James Outram took these wild tribes in hand. He made friends with them by means of feasts and tiger-hunts. Nine Bhil warriors, who were his constant companions in tracking the beasts of chase, formed the beginning of a regular Bhil corps which numbered 600 men in 1827, and fought boldly for the British government. These loyal Bhils put a stop to plundering among their wilder fellow-countrymen, and they have proved themselves so trustworthy that they are now employed as policemen and treasury-guards throughout a large tract in the Khandesh political agency.²

In the Central Provinces, the non-Aryan races form a large part of the population. In certain localities they amount to one-half of the inhabitants. Their most important race, the Gonds, have made advances in civilization; but the wilder tribes still cling to the forest, and live by the chase. Some of them used, within the present generation, flint points for their arrows. They wield bows of great strength, which they hold with their feet, while they draw the string with both hands. They can send an arrow right through the body of a deer. The Maris fly from their grass-

² Kipling describes the Bhils in "The Tomb of His Ancestors" in "The Day's Work."

built huts on the approach of a stranger. Once a year a messenger comes to them from the local raja to take their tribute, which consists chiefly of jungle products. He does not, however, enter their hamlets, but beats a drum outside, and then hides himself. The shy Maris creep forth from their huts, place what they have to give in an appointed spot, and run back again into their retreats.

Farther to the northeast, in the tributary states of Orissa, there is a poor tribe, about 10,000 in number, of Juangs or Patuas, literally the "leaf-wearers." Until twenty years ago, their women wore no clothes, but only a few strings of beads around the waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind. In 1871 the English officer called together the clan, and, after a speech, handed out strips of cotton for the women to put on. They then passed in single file before him in their new clothes, and made obeisance. Finally, they gathered the bunches of leaves, which had formed their sole clothing, into a great heap, and solemnly set fire to it.

Proceeding to the northern boundary of India, we find the slopes and spurs of the Himalayas peopled by a great variety of rude non-Aryan tribes. Some of the Assam hillmen have no word for expressing distance by miles or by any land-measure, but reckon the length of a journey by the number of plugs of tobacco or betel-leaf which they chew upon the way. They hate work; and, as a rule, they are fierce, black, undersized, and ill-fed. In old times they earned a scanty livelihood by plundering the hamlets of the Assam Valley. They are now used as a sort of police, to keep the peace of the border, in return for a yearly gift of cloth, hoes, and grain. Their very names bear witness to their former wild life. One tribe, the Akas of Assam, is divided into two clans, whose names literally mean "the eaters of a thousand hearths," and "the thieves who lurk in the cotton-field."

Many of the aboriginal tribes, therefore, remain in the same early stage of human progress as that ascribed to them by the Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago, but others have made great advances, and form communities of a well-developed type. These higher races, like the ruder ones, are scattered over the length and breadth of India, and I must confine myself to a very brief account of two of them—the Santals and the Kandhs.

The Santals have their home among the hills which abut on the valley of the Ganges in Lower Bengal. They dwell in villages

of their own, apart from the people of the plains, and, when first counted by British officers, numbered about a million. Although still clinging to many customs of a hunting forest tribe, they have learned the use of the plow, and have settled down into skillful husbandmen. Each hamlet is governed by its own headman, who is supposed to be a descendant of the original founder of the village, and who is assisted by a deputy headman and a watchman. The boys of the hamlet had their separate officers, and were strictly controlled by their own headman and his deputy till they entered the married state. The Santals know not the cruel distinctions of Hindu caste, but trace their tribes, usually fixed at seven, to the seven sons of the first parents. The whole village feasts, hunts, and worships together. So strong is the bond of race, that expulsion from the tribe used to be the only Santal punishment. A heinous criminal was cut off from "fire and water" in the village, and sent forth alone into the jungle. Smaller offenses were forgiven upon a public reconciliation with the tribe; to effect which the guilty one had to provide a feast, with much rice-beer, for his clansmen.

The Santals do not allow child-weddings. They marry about the age of fifteen to seventeen, when the young people are old enough to choose for themselves. At the end of the ceremony the girl's relatives pound burning charcoal with the household pestle, and extinguish it with water, in token of the breaking up of her former family ties. The Santals respect their women, and do not take a second wife during the life of the first, except when the first is childless. They solemnly burn their dead, and whenever possible they used to float three fragments of the skull down the Damodar River, the sacred stream of the race.

The Santal has no knowledge of bright and friendly gods, such as the Vedic singers of the Aryan worship. Still less can he imagine one omnipotent and beneficent Deity, who watches over mankind. Hunted and driven back before the Hindus and Mohammedans, the Santal does not understand how a Being can be more powerful than himself without wishing to harm him. "What," said a Santal to an eloquent missionary who had been discoursing on the omnipotence of the Christian God; "what if that strong One should eat me?" He thinks that the earth swarms with demons, whose ill-will he tries to avert by the sacrifice of goats, cocks, and chickens. There are the ghosts of his forefathers,

river-spirits, forest-spirits, well-demons, mountain-demons, and a mighty host of unseen beings, whom he must keep in good humor. These dwell chiefly in the ancient sal trees which shade his village. In some hamlets the people dance round every tree, so that they may not by evil chance miss the one in which the village-spirits happen to be dwelling.

Until near the end of the eighteenth century, the Santals lived by plundering the adjacent plains, but under British rule they settled down into peaceful cultivators. To prevent disputes between them and the Hindu villagers of the lowlands, British officers set up in 1832 a boundary of stone pillars. But the Hindu money-lender soon came among them; and the simple hillmen plunged into debt. Their strong love of kindred prevented them from running away, and they sank into serfs to the Hindu usurers. The poor Santal gave over his whole crop each year to the money-lender, and was allowed just enough food to keep his family at work. When he died, the life-long burden descended to his children; for the high sense of honor among the Santals compels a son to take upon himself his father's debts. In 1848 three entire villages threw up their clearings, and fled in despair to the jungle. In 1855 the Santals started in a body of 30,000 men, with their bows and arrows, to walk to Calcutta and lay their condition before the governor general. At first they were orderly; but the way was long; they had to live, and the hungry ones began to plunder. Quarrels broke out between them and the British police; and within a week they were in armed rebellion. The rising was put down, not without mournful bloodshed. Their complaints were carefully inquired into, and a simple system of government, directly under the eye of a British officer, was granted to them. They are now a prosperous people, but their shyness and superstition make them dread any new thing. A few of them took up arms to resist the census of 1881.

The Kandhs, literally "the mountaineers," a tribe about 100,000 strong, inhabit the steep and forest-covered ranges which rise from the Orissa coast. Their system of government is purely patriarchal. The family is strictly ruled by the father. The grown-up sons have no property during his life, but live in his house with their wives and children, and all share the common meal prepared by the grandmother. The head of the tribe is usually the eldest son of the patriarchal family; but if he be not

fit for the post he is set aside, and an uncle or a younger brother is appointed. He enters on no undertaking without calling together the elders of the tribe.

Up to 1835, when the English introduced milder laws, the Kandhs punished murder by blood-revenge. The kinsmen of the dead man were bound to kill the slayer, unless appeased by a payment of grain or cattle. Anyone who wounded another had to maintain the sufferer until he recovered from his hurt. A stolen article must be returned, or its value paid; but the Kandh twice convicted of theft was driven forth from his tribe—the greatest punishment known to the race. Disputes were settled by duels, or by deadly combats between armed bands, or by the ordeal of boiling oil or heated iron, or by taking a solemn oath on an ant-hill, or on a tiger's claw, or on a lizard's skin. If a house-father died leaving no sons, his land was parceled out among the other male heads of the village; for no woman was allowed to hold land, nor indeed any Kandh who could not with his own arms defend it.

The Kandh system of tillage represents a stage half-way between the migratory cultivation of the ruder non-Aryan tribes and the settled agriculture of the Hindus. The Kandhs do not, like the ruder non-Aryans, merely burn down a patch in the jungle, take a few crops off it, and then move on to fresh clearings. Nor, on the other hand, do they go on cultivating the same fields, like the Hindus, from father to son. When their lands show signs of exhaustion, they desert them; and it was a rule in some of the Kandh settlements to change their village sites once in fourteen years.

A Kandh wedding consists of forcibly carrying off the bride in the middle of a feast. The boy's father pays a price for the girl, and usually chooses a strong one, several years older than his son. In this way Kandh maidens are married about fourteen, Kandh boys about ten. The bride remains as a servant in her new father-in-law's house till her boy-husband grows old enough to live with her. She generally acquires a great influence over him; and a Kandh may not marry a second wife during the life of his first one, except with her consent.

The Kandh engages only in husbandry and war, and despises all other work. Attached to each village is a row of hovels inhabited by a lower race, who are not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship. These poor people

do the dirty work of the hamlet, and supply families of hereditary weavers, blacksmiths, potters, herdsmen, and distillers. They are kindly treated, and a portion of each feast is left for them, but they can never rise in the social scale. No Kandh could engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands. They are supposed to be the remnants of a ruder race, whom the Kandhs found in possession of the hills, when they themselves were pushed backward by the Aryans from the plains.

The Kandhs, like the Santals, have many deities, race-gods, tribe-gods, family-gods, and a multitude of malignant spirits and demons. Their great divinity is the earth-god, who represents the productive energy of nature. Twice each year, at sowing-time and at harvest, and in all seasons of special calamity, the earth-god required a human sacrifice. The duty of kidnaping victims from the plains rested with the lower race attached to the Kandh village. Brahmans and Kandhs were the only classes exempted from sacrifice, and an ancient rule ordained that the offering must be bought with a price. The victim, on being brought to the hamlet, was welcomed at every threshold, daintily fed, and kindly treated till the fatal day arrived. He was then solemnly sacrificed to the earth-god, the Kandhs shouting in his dying ear, "We bought you with a price; no sin rests with us!" His flesh and blood were portioned out among the village lands.

In 1835 the Kandhs passed under British rule, and human sacrifices were put down. Roads have been made through their hills, and fairs established. The English officers interfere as little as possible with their customs; and the Kandhs are now a peaceable and well-to-do race.

Whence came these primitive peoples, whom the Aryan invaders found in the land more than 3000 years ago, and who are still scattered over India, the fragments of a prehistoric world? Written annals they do not possess. Their traditions tell us little, but from their languages we find that they belong to three stocks. First, the Tibeto-Burman tribes, who entered India from the north-east, and still cling to the skirts of the Himalayas. Second, the Kolarians, who also seem to have entered Bengal by the northeastern passes. They dwell chiefly along the northeastern ranges of the central tableland which covers the southern half of India. Third, the Dravidians, who appear, on the other hand, to have found their way into the Punjab by the northwestern passes. They now

inhabit the southern part of the three-sided tableland as far down as Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. This theory concerning the origin of the non-Aryans is combated by Risley in his chapter on caste in the Indian census report for 1901.

As a rule, the non-Aryan races, when fairly treated, are truthful, loyal, and kind. Those in the hills make good soldiers; while even the thieving tribes of the plains can be turned into clever police. The non-Aryan low-castes of Madras supplied the troops which conquered southern India for the British; and some of them fought at the battle of Plassey, which won Bengal for England. The gallant Gurkhas, a non-Aryan tribe of the Himalayas, now rank among the bravest regiments in the Indian army, and have covered themselves with honor in every recent war, from Afghanistan to Burma.

In many countries of the world, the ruder tribes have been crushed, or killed off by superior races. This has been the case, to a large extent, with the primitive peoples of Mexico and Peru, with the Indians of North America, and with the aborigines of Australia and, to some extent, in New Zealand. But the non-Aryan tribes of India are prospering instead of decreasing under British rule. Hill-fairs and roads through their mountains and jungles have opened up to them new means of livelihood; and the census shows that they have a larger proportion of children than the other races of India. As they grow rich, they adopt Hindu customs, and numbers of them every year pass within the pale of Hinduism. Others become converts to Christianity, and it seems likely that in the course of two or three generations there will be but a small remnant of the non-Aryan races which still cling to their aboriginal customs and rites. The census since 1881 has included many of them among the low caste Hindus, and returned a much smaller number of pure aborigines than the figures given in the second chapter for the aboriginal population from the census of 1872.

This arises partly from the fact that the aboriginal races are merging into the Hindu community: partly because the system of classification adopted in 1872 exhibited the aborigines more fully according to their race than the later census enumerations. It should be noted that the census of 1872 was not a synchronous general census, but rather a compilation of enumerations made in different provinces in different years and of estimates in those districts in which for any reason a count could not be made. The

census of 1881 strictly speaking was the first census of India. The censuses beginning with 1881 have omitted an enumeration based upon race origin, so that one is dependent upon the returns of religious beliefs for inferences concerning the race origins. The heading Animistic may be taken as including scarcely any except aborigines, but it by no means includes them all, for many, especially in recent years have become converts to one of the other faiths, especially Hinduism or Christianity.

Chapter IV

THE ARYANS IN INDIA

AT a very early period we catch sight of a nobler race from the northwest, forcing its way in among the primitive peoples of India. This race belonged to the splendid Aryan or Indo-European stock, from which the Brahman, the Rajput, and the Englishman alike descend. Its earliest home seems to have been in western Asia. From that common camping-ground certain branches of the race started for the east, others for the farther west. One of the western offshoots built Athens and Sparta, and became the Greek nation; another went on to Italy, and reared the city on the seven hills, which grew into imperial Rome. A distant colony of the same race excavated the silver ores of prehistoric Spain; and when we first catch a sight of ancient England, we see an Aryan settlement fishing in wattle canoes, and working the tin mines of Cornwall. Meanwhile other branches of the Aryan stock had gone forth from the primitive Asiatic home to the east. Powerful bands found their way through the passes of the Himalayas into the Punjab, and spread themselves, chiefly as Brahmans and Rajputs, over India. Recent researches concerning the Indo-Europeans and concerning the early history of India tend to modify certain of these conclusions, but there is as yet no reason to consider this opinion as less weighty than any other. In regard to the early home of the Indo-Europeans there is slight chance of positive proof, but at present the weight of evidence seems to favor some region just south of the Baltic Sea.

The Aryan offshoots, alike to the east and to the west, asserted their superiority over the earlier peoples whom they found in possession of the soil. The history of ancient Europe is the story of the Aryan settlements around the shores of the Mediterranean; and that wide term, modern civilization, merely means the civilization of the western branches of the same race. The history of India consists in like manner of the history of the eastern offshoots of the Aryan stock who settled in that land.

We know little regarding these noble Aryan tribes in their early camping ground in western Asia. From words preserved in the languages of their long-separated descendants in Europe and India, scholars infer that they roamed over the grassy steppes with their cattle, making long halts to raise crops of grain. They had tamed most of the domestic animals; were acquainted with iron; understood the arts of weaving and sewing; wore clothes; and ate cooked food. They lived the hardy life of the comparatively temperate zone; and the feeling of cold seems to be one of the earliest common remembrances of the eastern and the western branches of the race.

The forefathers of the Greek and the Roman, of the English and the Hindu, dwelt together in western Asia, spoke the same tongue, worshiped the same gods. The languages of Europe and India, although at first sight they seem wide apart, are merely different growths from the original Aryan speech. This is especially true of the common words of family life. The names for father, mother, brother, sister, and widow are the same in most of the Aryan languages, whether spoken on the banks of the Ganges, of the Tiber, or of the Thames. Thus the word daughter, which occurs in nearly all of them, seems to have been derived from the Aryan root *dhugh*, which in Sanskrit has the form of *duh*, to milk; and perhaps preserves the memory of the time when the daughter was the little milkmaid in the primitive Aryan household.

The ancient religions of Europe and India had a common origin. They were to some extent made up of the sacred stories or myths, which our joint-ancestors had learned while dwelling together in Asia. Several of the Vedic gods were also the gods of Greece and Rome; and to this day the Divinity is adored by names derived from the same old Aryan word *deva*, the shining one, by Brahmans in Calcutta, by the Protestant clergy of England, and by Catholic priests in Peru.

The Vedic hymns exhibit the Indian branch of the Aryans on their march to the southeast, and in their new homes. The earliest songs disclose the race still to the north of the Khaibar Pass, in Kabul; the later ones bring them as far as the Ganges. Their victorious advance eastward through the intermediate tract can be traced in the Vedic writings almost step by step. The steady supply of water among the five rivers of the Punjab led the Aryans to settle down from their old state of wandering half-pastoral tribes

into regular communities of husbandmen. The Vedic poets praised the rivers which enabled them to make this great change—perhaps the most important step in the progress of a race. “May the Indus,” they sang, “the far-famed giver of wealth, hear us; (fertilizing our) broad fields with water.” The Himalayas, through whose southwestern passes they had reached India, and at whose southern base they long dwelt, made a lasting impression on their memory. The Vedic singer praised “Him whose greatness the snowy ranges, and the sea, and the aerial river declare.” The Aryan race in India never forgot its northern home. There dwelt its gods and holy singers; and there eloquence descended from heaven among men; while high amid the Himalaya Mountains lay the paradise of deities and heroes, where the kind and the brave forever repose.

The Rig-Veda forms the great literary memorial of the early Aryan settlements in the Punjab. The age of this venerable hymnal is unknown. Orthodox Hindus believe, without evidence, that it existed “from before all time,” or at least from 3001 years B. C. European scholars have inferred from astronomical data that its composition was going on about 1400 B. C., but the evidence might have been calculated backward, and inserted later in the Veda. In 1893 two scholars, Tilak and Jacobi, published the results of independent research based upon astronomical data and assigned the Rig-Veda to the period between 4500 B. C. and 2500 B. C. We only know that the Vedic religion had been at work long before the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century B. C. The Rig-Veda is a very old collection of 1017 short poems, chiefly addressed to the gods, and containing 10,580 verses. Its hymns show us the Aryans on the banks of the Indus, divided into various tribes, sometimes at war with each other, sometimes united against the “black-skinned” aborigines. Caste, in its later sense, is unknown. Each father of a family is the priest of his own household. The chieftain acts as father and priest to the tribe; but at the greater festivals he chooses someone specially learned in holy offerings to conduct the sacrifice in the name of the people. The king himself seems to have been elected; and his title of *vis-pati*, literally “lord of the settlers,” survives in the old Persian *vis-paiti*, and as the Lithuanian *wiez-patis* in east-central Europe at this day. Women enjoyed a high position; and some of the most beautiful hymns were composed by ladies and queens. Marriage was held sacred.

Husband and wife were both "rulers of the house" (*dampati*); and drew near to the gods together in prayer. The burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pile was unknown; and the verses in the Veda which the Brahmans afterward distorted into a sanction for the practice, have the very opposite meaning. "Rise, woman," says the Vedic text to the mourner; "come to the world of life. Come to us. Thou hast fulfilled thy duties as a wife to thy husband."

The Aryan tribes in the Veda have blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths among them, besides carpenters, barbers, and other artisans. They fight from chariots, and freely use the horse, although not yet the elephant, in war. They have settled down as husbandmen, till their fields with the plow, and live in villages or towns, but they also cling to their old wandering life, with their herds and "cattle-pens." Cattle, indeed, still form their chief wealth—the coin in which payment of fines is made—reminding us of the Latin word for money, *pecunia*, from *pecus*, a herd. One of the Vedic words for war literally means "a desire for cows."

Unlike the modern Hindus, the Aryans of the Veda ate beef; used a fermented liquor or beer, made from the soma plant; and offered the same strong meat and drink to their gods. The identification of this plant is not certain, but it seems to be *sarcostemma brevistigma*, sometimes called moon-plant. Thus the stout Aryans spread eastward through northern India, pushed on from behind by later arrivals of their own stock, and driving before them, or reducing to bondage, the earlier "black-skinned" races. They marched in whole communities from one river valley to another; each house-father a warrior, husbandman, and priest; with his wife, and his little ones, and his cattle.

These free-hearted tribes had a great trust in themselves and their gods. Like other conquering races, they believed that both themselves and their deities were altogether superior to the people of the land, and to their poor, rude objects of worship. Indeed, this noble self-confidence is a great aid to the success of a nation. Their divinities—*devas*, literally "the shining ones," from the Sanskrit root *div*, "to shine"—were the great powers of nature. They adored the father-heaven,—*Dyaush-pitar* in Sanskrit, the *Dies-piter* or *Jupiter* of Rome, the *Zeus* of Greece; and the encompassing sky—*Varuna* in Sanskrit, *Uranus* in Latin, *Ouranos* in

Greek.¹ Indra, or the aqueous vapor that brings the precious rain on which plenty or famine still depends each autumn, received the largest number of hymns. By degrees, as the settlers realized more and more keenly the importance of the periodical rains to their new life as husbandmen, he became the chief of the Vedic gods. "The gods do not reach unto thee, O Indra, nor men; thou overcomest all creatures in strength." Indra is also the god of the thunder storm and therefore the god of war. Agni, the god of fire (Latin *ignis*), ranks perhaps next to Indra in the number of hymns addressed to him. He is "the youngest of the gods," "the lord and giver of wealth." The Maruts are the storm gods, "who make the rock to tremble, who tear in pieces the forest." Ushas, "the high-born dawn" (Greek *Eos*), "shines upon us like a young wife, rousing every living being to go forth to his work." The Asvins, the "horsemen" or fleet outriders of the dawn, are the first rays of sunrise, "lords of luster." The solar orb himself (Surya), the wind (Vayu), the sunshine or friendly day (Mitra), the intoxicating fermented juice of the sacrificial plant (Soma), and many other deities are invoked in the Veda—in all, about thirty-three gods, "who are eleven in heaven, eleven on earth, and eleven dwelling in glory in mid-air."

The Aryan settler lived on excellent terms with his bright gods. He asked for protection, with an assured conviction that it would be granted. At the same time, he was deeply stirred by the glory and mystery of the earth and the heavens. Indeed, the majesty of nature so filled his mind that when he praises any one of his shining gods, he can think of none other for the time being, and adores him as the supreme ruler. Verses may be quoted declaring each of the greater deities to be the one supreme: "Neither gods nor men reach unto thee, O Indra." Another hymn speaks of Soma as "king of heaven and earth, the conqueror of all." To Varuna also it is said, "Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth; thou art king of all those who are gods, and of all those who are men." The more spiritual of the Vedic singers, therefore, may be said to have worshiped one god, though not one alone.

A few stanzas from one of these Vedic hymns will suffice to show their character. "In the beginning there arose the golden child. He was the one born lord of all that is. He established the

¹ The identification of Varuna with Uranus is possible, but as yet has not been proven.

earth and this sky. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

“He who gives life, he who gives strength; whose command all the bright gods revere; whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?”

“He who, through his power, is the one king of the breathing and awakening world. He who governs all, man and beast. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?”

“He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm; he through whom the heaven was established, nay, the highest heaven; he who measured out the light and the air. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?”

“He who by his might looked even over the water-clouds; he who alone is God above all gods. Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?”²

While the aboriginal races buried their dead in the earth or under rude stone monuments, the Aryan—alike in India, in Greece, and in Italy—made use of the funeral-pile. Several exquisite Sanskrit hymns bid farewell to the dead:—“Depart thou, depart thou by the ancient paths to the place whither our fathers have departed. Meet with the ancient ones; meet with the lord of death. Throwing off thine imperfections, go to thy home. Become united with a body; clothe thyself in a shining form.” “Let him depart to those for whom flow the rivers of nectar. Let him depart to those who, through meditation, have obtained the victory; who, by fixing their thoughts on the unseen, have gone to heaven. Let him depart to the mighty in battle, to the heroes who have laid down their lives for others, to those who have bestowed their goods on the poor.” The doctrine of transmigration was at first unknown. The circle round the funeral-pile sang with a firm assurance that their friend went direct to a state of blessedness and reunion with the loved ones who had gone before. “Do thou conduct us to heaven,” says a hymn of the later Atharva-Veda; “let us be with our wives and children.” “In heaven, where our friends dwell in bliss—having left behind the infirmities of the body, free from lameness, free from crookedness of limb—there let us behold our parents and our

²This hymn, complete in ten stanzas, will be found in F. Max Müller: “Vedic,” I, 1 (vol. XXXII. of “Sacred Books of the East”), where it is ascribed “To the Unknown God.” Its citation is “Rig-Veda,” Mandala 10, hymn 121. (Ashtaka viii. Adhyaya 7. Varga 3-4).

children." "May the water-shedding spirits bear thee upward, cooling thee with their swift motion through the air, and sprinkling thee with dew." "Bear him, carry him; let him, with all his faculties complete, go to the world of the righteous. Crossing the dark valley which spreadeth boundless around him, let the unborn soul ascend to heaven. Wash the feet of him who is stained with sin; let him go upward with cleansed feet. Crossing the gloom, gazing with wonder in many directions, let the unborn soul go up to heaven."

By degrees the old collection of hymns, or the Rig-Veda, no longer sufficed. Three other collections or service-books were therefore added, making the four Vedas. The word Veda is from the same root as the Latin *vid-ere*, to see: the early Greek *feid-enai*, infinitive of *oida*, I know: and the English *wisdom*, or I *wit*. The Brahmans taught that the Veda was divinely inspired, and that it was literally "the *wisdom* of God." There was, first, the Rig-Veda, or the hymns in their simplest form. Second, the Sama-Veda, made up of hymns of the Rig-Veda to be used at the Soma sacrifice. Third, the Yajur-Veda, consisting not only of Rig-Vedic hymns, but also of prose sentences, to be used at the great sacrifices; and divided into two editions, the Black and White Yajur. The fourth, or Atharva-Veda, was compiled from the least ancient hymns at the end of the Rig-Veda, very old religious spells, and later sources. Some of its spells have a similarity to the ancient German and Lithuanian charms, and appear to have come down from the most primitive times, before the Indian and European branches of the Aryan race struck out from their common home.

To each of the four Vedas were attached prose works, called Brahmanas, in order to explain the sacrifices and the duties of the priests. Like the four Vedas, the Brahmanas were held to be the very word of God. The Vedas and the Brahmanas form the revealed scriptures of the Hindus—the *sruti*, literally "things heard from God." The Vedas supplied their divinely-inspired psalms, and the Brahmanas their divinely-inspired theology or body of doctrine. To them were afterward added the Sutras, literally "*strings* of pithy sentences" regarding laws and ceremonies. Still later the Upanishads were composed, treating of God and the soul; the Aranyakas, or "tracts for the forest recluse"; and, after a very long interval, the Puranas, or "traditions from of old." All these ranked, however, not as divinely-inspired knowledge, or things

“heard from God” (sruti), like the Vedas and Brahmanas, but only as sacred traditions—smitri, literally “the things remembered.”

Meanwhile the four castes had been formed. In the old Aryan colonies among the five rivers of the Punjab, each house-father was a husbandman, warrior, and priest. But by degrees certain gifted families, who composed the Vedic hymns or learned them off by heart, were always chosen by the king to perform the great sacrifices. In this way probably the priestly caste sprang up. As the Aryans conquered more territory, fortunate soldiers received a larger share of the lands than others, and cultivated it not with their own hands, but by means of the vanquished non-Aryan tribes. In this way the four castes arose. First, the priests or Brahmans. Second, the warriors or fighting companions of the king, called Rajputs or Kshatriyas, literally “of the royal stock.” Third, the Aryan agricultural settlers, who kept the old name of Vaisyas, from the root *vis*, which in the primitive Vedic period had included the whole Aryan people. Fourth, the Sudras, or conquered non-Aryan tribes, who became serfs. The first three castes were of Aryan descent, and were honored by the name of the twice-born castes. They could all be present at the sacrifices, and they worshiped the same bright gods. The Sudras were “the slave-bands of black descent” of the Veda. They were distinguished from their “twice-born” Aryan conquerors as being only “once-born,” and by many contemptuous epithets. They were not allowed to be present at the great national sacrifices, or at the feasts which followed them. They could never rise out of their servile condition; and to them was assigned the severest toil in the fields, and all the hard and dirty work of the village community.

The Brahmans or priests claimed the highest rank, but they seem to have had a long struggle with the Kshatriya or warrior caste, before they won their proud position at the head of the Indian people. They afterward secured themselves in that position, by teaching that it had been given to them by God. At the beginning of the world, they said, the Brahman proceeded from the mouth of the Creator, the Kshatriya or Rajput from his arms, the Vaisya from his thighs or belly, and the Sudra from his feet. This legend is true so far, that the Brahmans were really the brain-power of the Indian people, the Kshatriyas its armed hands, the Vaisyas the food-growers, and the Sudras the down-trodden serfs. When the

Brahmans had established their power, they made a wise use of it. From the ancient Vedic times they recognized that if they were to exercise spiritual supremacy, they must renounce earthly pomp. In arrogating the priestly function, they gave up all claim to the royal office. They were divinely appointed to be the guides of nations and the counselors of kings, but they could not be kings themselves. As the duty of the Sudra was to serve, of the Vaisya to till the ground and follow middle-class trades or crafts, so the business of the Kshattriya was to fight the public enemy, and of the Brahman to propitiate the national gods.

Each day brought to the Brahmans its routine of ceremonies, studies, and duties. Their whole life was mapped out into four clearly-defined stages of discipline. For their existence, in its full religious significance, commenced not at birth, but on being invested at the close of childhood with the sacred thread of the twice-born. Their youth and early manhood were to be entirely spent in learning the Veda by heart from an older Brahman, tending the sacred fire, and serving their preceptor. Having completed his long studies, the young Brahman entered on the second stage of his life, as a householder. He married, and commenced a course of family duties. When he had reared a family, and gained a practical knowledge of the world, he retired into the forest as a recluse, for the third period of his life; feeding on roots or fruits, practicing his religious duties with increased devotion. The fourth stage was that of the ascetic or religious mendicant, wholly withdrawn from earthly affairs, and striving to attain a condition of mind which, heedless of the joys, or pains, or wants of the body, is intent only on its final absorption into the deity. The Brahman, in this fourth stage of his life, ate nothing but what was given to him unasked, and abode not more than one day in any village, lest the vanities of the world should find entrance into his heart. This was the ideal life prescribed for a Brahman, and ancient Indian literature shows that it was to a large extent practically carried out. Throughout his whole existence the true Brahman practiced a strict temperance; drinking no wine, using a simple diet, curbing the desires; shut off from the tumults of war, as his business was to pray, not to fight, and having his thoughts ever fixed on study and contemplation. "What is this world?" says a Brahman sage. "It is even as the bough of a tree, on which a bird rests for a night, and in the morning flies away."

The Brahmans, therefore, were a body of men who, in an early stage of this world's history, bound themselves by a rule of life the essential precepts of which were self-culture and self-restraint. The Brahmans of the present India are the result of 3000 years of hereditary education and temperance; and they have evolved a type of mankind quite distinct from the surrounding population. Even the passing traveler in India marks them out, alike from the bronze-cheeked, large-limbed, leisure-loving Rajput or Kshatriya, the warrior caste of Aryan descent; and from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, thick-lipped low castes of non-Aryan origin, with their short bodies and bullet heads. The Brahman stands apart from both, tall and slim, with finely-modeled lips and nose, fair complexion, high forehead, and slightly cocoa-nut shaped skull—the man of self-centered refinement. He is an example of a class becoming the ruling power in a country, not by force of arms, but by the vigor of hereditary culture and temperance. One race has swept across India after another, dynasties have risen and fallen, religions have spread themselves over the land and disappeared, but since the dawn of history the Brahman has calmly ruled; swaying the minds and receiving the homage of the people, and accepted by foreign nations as the highest type of Indian mankind. The position which the Brahmans won resulted in no small measure from the benefits which they bestowed. For their own Aryan countrymen they developed a noble language and literature. The Brahmans were not only the priests and philosophers, but also the lawgivers, the men of science, and the poets of their race. Their influence on the aboriginal peoples, the hill and forest races of India, was even more important. To these rude remnants of the flint and stone ages they brought, in ancient times, a knowledge of the metals and the gods.

The Brahmans, among themselves, soon began to see that the old gods of the Vedic hymns were in reality not supreme beings, but poetic fictions. For when they came to think the matter out, they found that the sun, the aqueous vapor, the encompassing sky, the wind, and the dawn could not each be separate and supreme creators, but must have all proceeded from one first cause. They did not shock the more ignorant castes by any public rejection of the Vedic deities. They accepted the old "shining ones" of the Veda as beautiful manifestations of the divine power, and continued to decorously conduct the sacrifices in their honor, but

among their own caste the Brahmans taught the unity of God. The mass of the people were left to believe in four castes, four Vedas, and many deities, but the higher thinkers among the Brahmans recognized that in the beginning there was but one caste, one Veda, and one God.

The confused old groups of deities or shining ones in the Veda thus gave place to the grand conception of one God, in his three solemn manifestations as Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer and reproducer. Each of these had his prototype among the Vedic deities; and they remain to this day the three persons of the Hindu trinity. Brahma, the creator, or first person of the trinity, was too abstract an idea to be a popular god. Vishnu, the second person of the trinity, was a more useful and friendly deity. He is said to have ten times come down from heaven and lived on the earth. These were the ten incarnations (avatars) of Vishnu. Siva, the third person of the trinity, appears as both the destroyer and reproducer; and thus shows to the eye of faith that death is but a change of state, and an entry into a new life. Vishnu and Siva, in their diverse male and female shapes, now form the principal gods of the Hindus.

The Brahmans thus built up a religion for the Indian people. They also worked out a system of philosophy, and arranged its doctrines in six schools—darsanas, literally mirrors of knowledge—at least 500 years before Christ. They had moreover a circle of sciences of their own. The Sanskrit grammar of Panini, compiled about 350 B. C., is still the foundation of the study of Aryan language.³ In this subject the Brahmans were far before the Greeks or Romans, or indeed any European nation down to the present century. Their Sanskrit, or “perfected speech,” succeeded after a long interval to the earlier language of the Veda, but seems to have been used only, or chiefly, by the learned. The people spoke a simpler form of the same language, called Prakrit. From this old Prakrit the modern dialects of India descend. The Brahmans, however, always wrote in Sanskrit, which sank in time into a dead language unknown to the people. The Brahmans alone, therefore, could read the sacred books or write new ones; and in this way they became the only men of learning in India.

³ President B. I. Wheeler’s “Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language” (University of California Publications, “Classical Philology,” Vol. I. No. 3, Berkeley, 1905), gives a succinct account of the importance of Sanskrit grammar in the study of philology.

As early as 250 B. C. two alphabets, or systems of written characters, were used in India. The Brahmans preferred to hand down their holy learning by memory, rather than to write it out. Good Brahmans had to learn the Veda by heart, besides many other books. This was the easier, as almost all their literature was in verse (slokas). In the very ancient times, just after the Vedic hymns, a pure style of prose, simple and compact, had grown up, but during more than 2000 years the Brahmans have composed almost entirely in verse; and prose-writing was for long almost a lost art in India.

The Brahmans studied the movements of the heavenly bodies, so as to fix the proper dates for the annual sacrifices. More than 3000 years ago the Vedic poets had worked out a fairly correct calculation of the solar year, which they divided into 360 days, with an extra month every five years to make up for the odd $5\frac{1}{4}$ days per annum. They were also acquainted with the phases of the moon, the motions of the planets, and the signs of the zodiac. The Brahmans had advanced far in astronomy before the Greeks arrived in India in 327 B. C. They were not, however, ashamed to learn from the newcomers; and one of the five systems of Brahman astronomy is called the Romaka or Greek science, but in time the Hindus surpassed the Greeks in this matter. The fame of the Brahman astronomers spread westward, and their works were translated by the Arabs about 800 A. D., and so reached Europe. After the Mohammedans began to ravage India in 1000 A. D., Brahman science declined, but Hindu astronomers arose from time to time, and their observatories may still be seen at Benares and elsewhere. An Indian astronomer, the Maharaja Jai Singh, was able to correct the list of stars published by the celebrated French astronomer De La Hire, in 1702. The Maharaja Siwai Jai Singh II. founded the city of Jaipur in 1728. He was a famous mathematician and astronomer and erected five observatories in different cities of the Mogul empire, the largest being at Jaipur, and another at Benares.

The Brahmans also worked out a system of medicine for themselves. As they had to study the heavenly bodies in order to fix the dates of their yearly festivals, so they made their first steps in anatomy, by cutting up the animals at the sacrifice, with a view to offering the different parts to the proper gods. They ranked medical science as an Upa-Veda, or later revelation from heaven.

The ancient Brahmans did not shrink from dissecting the dead bodies of animals. They also trained their students by means of operations performed on wax spread over a board, instead of flesh, and on the stems of plants. The hospitals which the Buddhist princes set up throughout India for man and beast gave great opportunities for the study and treatment of disease.

In medicine the Brahmans learned nothing from the Greeks, but taught them much. Arab medicine was founded on translations from Sanskrit works about 800 A. D. Mediæval European medicine, in its turn, down to the seventeenth century, was, in many important respects, based upon the Arabic. The Indian physician Charaka was quoted in European books of medicine written in the Middle Ages. He is said to have been connected with the court of Kanishka in the first century A. D., and his writings with those of Susruta are the most important ancient Hindu medical treatises.

As Buddhism passed into modern Hinduism (600-1000 A. D.), and the shackles of caste were imposed with an iron rigour, the Brahmans more scrupulously avoided contact with blood or diseased matter. They left the avowed profession to the Vaidyas, a lower caste, sprung from a Brahman father and a mother of the Vaisya or cultivating class. These in their turn shrank more and more from touching dead bodies, and from those ancient operations on "the carcass of a bullock," by which alone surgical skill could be acquired. The abolition of the public hospitals, on the downfall of Buddhism, must also have proved a great loss to Indian medicine. The Mohammedan conquests, commencing in 1000 A. D., brought in a new school of foreign physicians, who derived their knowledge from the Arabic translations of the Sanskrit medical works of the best period. These Mussulman doctors or hakims monopolized the patronage of the Mohammedan princes and nobles of India. The decline of Hindu medicine continued until it sank into the hands of the village kabiraj, whose knowledge consists of a jumble of Sanskrit texts, useful lists of drugs, aided by spells, fasts, and quackery. Hindu students now flock to the medical colleges established by the British government, and in this way the science is again reviving in India.

The Brahmans had also an art of music of their own. The seven notes which they invented, at least four centuries before Christ, passed through the Persians to Arabia, and were thence introduced into European music in the eleventh century A. D.

Hindu music declined under the Mohammedan rule. Its complex divisions or modes and numerous sub-tones prevent it from pleasing the modern European ear, which has been trained on a different system; but it is highly original and interesting from a scientific point of view. A great revival of Indian music has been brought about by patriotic native gentlemen in our own days, and its strains give delight to millions of the people of India.

The Brahmans made law a part of their religion. Their earliest legal works were "the household maxims" (Grihya Sutras), some of them perhaps as early as 500 B. C. The customs of the Brahmans in northern India were collected into the Code of Manu, composed in its present final form between 100 and 500 A. D. Another famous compilation, known as the Code of Yajnavalkya, was drawn up later, apparently in the sixth or seventh century A. D. These codes, and the commentaries written upon them, still rule the family life of the Hindus. They set forth the law in three branches: domestic and civil rights and duties, the administration of justice, religious purifications and penance. They contain many rules about marriage, inheritance, and food. They keep the castes apart, by forbidding them to intermarry or to eat together. They were accepted as almost divine laws by the Hindus; and the spread of these codes was the work of the Brahmans as the civiliziers of India. They really record only the customs of the Brahman kingdoms in the north, and do not truly apply to all the Indian races. The greatest Hindu lawgivers agree that the usages of each different country in India are to be respected; and in this way they make allowance for the laws or customs of the non-Aryan tribes. Thus among the Brahmans it would be disgraceful for a woman to have two husbands, but among the Nairs of southern India and other non-Aryan races it is the custom; therefore it is legal for such races, and all the laws of inheritance among these peoples are regulated accordingly.

The Brahmans were not merely the composers and keepers of the sacred books, the philosophers, the men of science, and the law-makers of the Hindu people—they were also its poets. They did not write history; but they told the ancient wars and the lives of the Aryan heroes in epic poems. The two most famous of these are the Mahabharata, or chronicles of the Delhi kings, and the Ramayana, or story of the Aryan advance into southern India.

The Mahabharata is a great collection of Indian legends in

verse, some of them as old as the Vedic hymns. The main story deals with a period not later than 1200 B. C., but it was not put together in its present shape till more than a thousand years later. An idea of the extent of the Mahabharata may be gained from the fact that it contains 220,000 lines; while the Iliad of Homer does not amount to 16,000 lines, and Virgil's *Æneid* contains less than 10,000.

The central story of the Mahabharata occupies scarcely one-fourth of the whole, or about 50,000 lines. It narrates a struggle between two families of the ruling lunar race for a patch of country near Delhi. These families, alike descended from the royal Bharata, consisted of two brotherhoods, cousins to each other, and both brought up under the same roof. The five Pandavas were the sons of King Pandu, who, smitten by a curse, resigned the sovereignty to his brother Dhrita-rashtra, and retired to a hermitage in the Himalayas, where he died. The ruins of his capital, Hastinapura, or the elephant city, are pointed out beside a deserted bed of the Ganges, 57 miles northeast of Delhi, at this day. His brother Dhrita-rashtra ruled in his stead; and to him one hundred sons were born, who took the name of the Kauravas from an ancestor, Kuru. Dhrita-rashtra acted as a faithful guardian to his five nephews, the Pandavas, and chose the eldest of them as heir to the family kingdom. His own sons resented this act of supercession; and so arose the quarrel between the hundred Kauravas and the five Pandavas, which forms the main story of the Mahabharata.

The hundred Kauravas forced their father to send away their five Pandava cousins into the forest, and there they treacherously burned down the hut in which the five Pandavas dwelt. The Pandavas escaped, and wandered in the disguise of Brahmans to the court of King Draupada, who had proclaimed a swayam-vara, or a maiden's "own choice." This was a contest of arms, or with the bow, among the chiefs, at which the king's daughter would take the victor as her husband. Arjuna, one of the five Pandavas, bent the mighty bow which had defied the strength of all the rival chiefs, and so obtained the fair princess, Draupadi, who became the common wife of the five brethren. Their uncle, the good Dhrita-rashtra, recalled them to his capital, and gave them one half of the family territory, reserving the other half for his own sons. The Pandava brethren hived off to a new settlement, Indra-prastha,

afterward Delhi, clearing the jungle and driving out the Nagas or forest-races.

For a time peace reigned. But the Kauravas tempted Yudhishthira, "firm in fight," the eldest of the Pandavas, to a gambling match, at which he lost his kingdom, his brothers, himself, and last of all his wife. Their father, however, forced his sons to restore their wicked gains to their cousins. But Yudhishthira was again seduced by the Kauravas to stake his kingdom at dice, again lost it, and had to retire with his wife and brethren into exile for twelve years. Their banishment ended, the five Pandavas returned at the head of an army to win back their kingdom. Many battles followed, gods and divine heroes joined in the struggle, until at last all the hundred Kauravas were slain, and of the friends and kindred of the Pandavas only the five brethren remained. Their uncle, Dhritarashtra, made over to them the whole kingdom. For a long time the Pandavas ruled gloriously, celebrating the asva-medha, or "great horse sacrifice," in token of their holding imperial sway. Their uncle, old and blind, ever taunted them with the slaughter of his hundred sons, until at last he crept away, with his few surviving ministers, his aged wife, and his sister-in-law, the mother of the Pandavas, to a hermitage, where the worn-out band perished in a forest fire. The five brethren, smitten by remorse, gave up their kingdom; and, taking their wife, Draupadi, and a faithful dog, they departed to the Himalayas to seek the heaven of Indra on Mount Meru. One by one the sorrowful pilgrims died upon the road, until only the eldest brother, Yudhishthira, and the dog reached the gate of heaven. Indra invited him to enter, but he refused if his lost wife and brethren were not also admitted. The prayer was granted; but he still declined unless his faithful dog might come in with him. This could not be allowed; and Yudhishthira, after a glimpse of heaven, was thrust down to hell, where he found many of his old comrades in anguish. He resolved to share their sufferings rather than to enjoy paradise alone, but, having triumphed in this crowning trial, the whole scene was revealed to him to be maya or illusion, and the reunited band entered into heaven, where they rest forever with Indra.

The struggle for the kingdom of Hastinapura forms, however, only a fourth of the Mahabharata. The remainder is made up of other early legends, stories of the gods, and religious discourses, intended to teach the military caste its duties, especially its duty of

reverence to the Brahmans. Taken as a whole, the Mahabharata may be said to form the cyclopædia of the heroic age in northern India.

The second great Indian epic, the Ramayana, recounts the advance of the Aryans into southern India. It is said to have been composed by the poet Valmiki; and its main story refers to a period loosely estimated at about 1000 B. C., but the Ramayana could not have been put together in its present shape many centuries, if at all, before the Christian era. Parts of it may be earlier than the Mahabharata, but the compilation as a whole apparently belongs to a later date. The Ramayana consists of about 48,000 lines.

As the Mahabharata celebrates the lunar race of Delhi, so the Ramayana forms the epic, or poetic history, of the solar race of Ayodhya, the capital of the modern province of Oudh. The two poems thus preserve the legends of the two most famous Aryan kingdoms at the two opposite, or eastern and western, borders of the old middle land of Hindustan (Madhya-desa). The opening books of the Ramayana recount the wondrous birth and boyhood of Rama, eldest son of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya or Oudh; his marriage with the princess Sita, after he proved himself the victor at her "own choice" of a husband (swayam-vara), by bending the mighty bow of Siva in the contest of chiefs; and his selection as heir-apparent to his father's kingdom. A zana intrigue ends in the youngest wife of Dasaratha, Rama's father, obtaining the succession for her own son, Bharata, and in the exile of Rama, with his bride Sita, for fourteen years to the forest. The banished pair wander south to Prayag, the modern Allahabad, already a place of sanctity, and thence across the river to the hermitage of Valmiki, among the jungles of Bundelkhand, where a hill is still pointed out as the scene of their abode. Meanwhile Rama's father dies; and the loyal younger brother, Bharata, although declared the lawful successor, refuses to enter on the inheritance, and goes in search of Rama to bring him back as rightful heir. A contest of fraternal affection takes place; Bharata at length returning to rule the family kingdom in the name of Rama, until the latter should come to claim it at the end of his fourteen years of banishment.

So far, the Ramayana merely narrates the local annals of the court of Ayodhya. In the third book the main story begins. Ravana, the demon or aboriginal king of the far south, smitten by the fame of Sita's beauty, seizes her at the hermitage while her

husband Rama is away in the jungle, and flies off with her in a magic chariot through the air to Ceylon. The next three books (4th, 5th, and 6th) recount the expedition of the bereaved Rama for her recovery. He allies himself with the aboriginal tribes of southern India, who bear the names of monkeys and bears, and raises among them a great army. The monkey general, Hanuman, jumps across the straits between India and Ceylon, discovers the princess in captivity, and leaps back with the news to Rama. The monkey troops then build a causeway across the narrow sea,—the Adam's Bridge of modern geography,—by which Rama marches across, and, after slaying the monster Ravana, delivers Sita. The rescued wife proves her faithfulness to him, during her stay in the palace of Ravana, by the ancient ordeal of fire. Agni, the god of that element, himself conducts her out of the burning pile to her husband; and, the fourteen years of banishment being over, Rama and Sita return in triumph to Ayodhya. There they reigned gloriously; and Rama celebrated the great horse sacrifice (*asva-medha*) as a token of his imperial sway over India. A famine having smitten the land, Rama regards it as a punishment sent by God for some crime committed in the royal family. Doubts arise in his heart as to his wife's purity while in her captor's power at Ceylon. He accordingly banishes the faithful Sita, who wanders forth again to Valmiki's hermitage, where she gives birth to Rama's two sons. After sixteen years of exile, she is reconciled to her repentant husband, and Rama and Sita and their children are at last reunited.

The Mahabharata and the Ramayana, however overlaid with fable, form the chronicles of the kings of the middle land of Hindustan (*Madhya-desa*), their family feuds, and their national enterprises. In the later Sanskrit epics, the stories of the heroes give place more and more to legends of the gods. Among them the *Raghu-vansa* and the *Kumara-sambhava*, both assigned to Kalidasa, take the first rank. The *Raghu-vansa* celebrates the solar line of Raghu, king of Ayodhya, and especially his descendant Rama. The *Kumara-sambhava* recounts the birth of the war-god. These two poems could not have been composed in their present shape before 350 A. D.

In India, as in Greece and Rome, scenic representations seem to have taken their rise in the rude pantomime of a very early age, possibly as far back as the Vedic ritual; and the Sanskrit word

for the drama, nataka, is derived from nata, a dancer. The Sanskrit plays of the classical age which have come down to us probably belong to the period between the first century B. C. and the eighth century A. D. The father of the Sanskrit drama is Kalidasa, already mentioned as the composer of the two later Sanskrit epics. According to Hindu tradition, he was one of the "nine gems," or distinguished men at the court of Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain, in 57 B. C., but as a matter of fact there were several king Vikramadityas, and the one under whom Kalidasa flourished appears to have ruled over Malwa in the sixth century A. D.

The most famous drama of Kalidasa is "Sakuntala, or the Lost Ring." Like the ancient Sanskrit epics, it divides its action between the court of the king and the hermitage in the forest. Prince Dushyanta, an ancestor of the noble lunar race, weds a beautiful Brahman girl, Sakuntala, at her father's retreat in the jungle. Before returning to his capital, he gives his bride a ring as a pledge of his love; but, smitten by a curse from a Brahman, she loses the ring, and cannot be recognized by her husband till it is found. Sakuntala bears a son in her loneliness, and sets out to claim recognition for herself and child at her husband's court, but she is as one unknown to the prince, till, after many sorrows and trials, the ring comes to light. She is then happily reunited with her husband, and her son grows up to be the noble Bharata, the chief founder of the lunar dynasty, whose achievements form the theme of the Mahabharata. Sakuntala, like Sita, is a type of the chaste and faithful Hindu wife; and her love and sorrow, after forming the favorite romance of the Indian people for perhaps eighteen hundred years, supplied a theme for Goethe, in the "*Vorspiel auf dem Theater*" prefixed to his "Faust."

Among other Hindu dramas and poems may be mentioned the "Mrichchhakatika, or Earthen Toy Cart," in ten acts, on the old theme of the innocent cleared and the guilty punished; and the poem of "Nala and Damayanti, or the Royal Gambler and the Faithful Wife." Many plays often founded upon some story in the Mahabharata or Ramayana, issue every year from the Indian press.

Besides the epic chronicles of their gods and heroes, the Brahmans composed many religious poems. One of the most beautiful is the "Gita Govinda, or Song of the Divine Herdsman," written by Jayadeva about 1200 A. D. The Puranas are an enormous collection of religious discourses in verse.

Fables of animals have from old been favorites in India. The Sanskrit "*Pancha-tantra*," or "Book of Beast Tales," was translated into Persian as early as the sixth century A. D.; and thence found its way to Europe. Some of the animal fables of ancient India are among the familiar nursery stories of England and America at the present day.

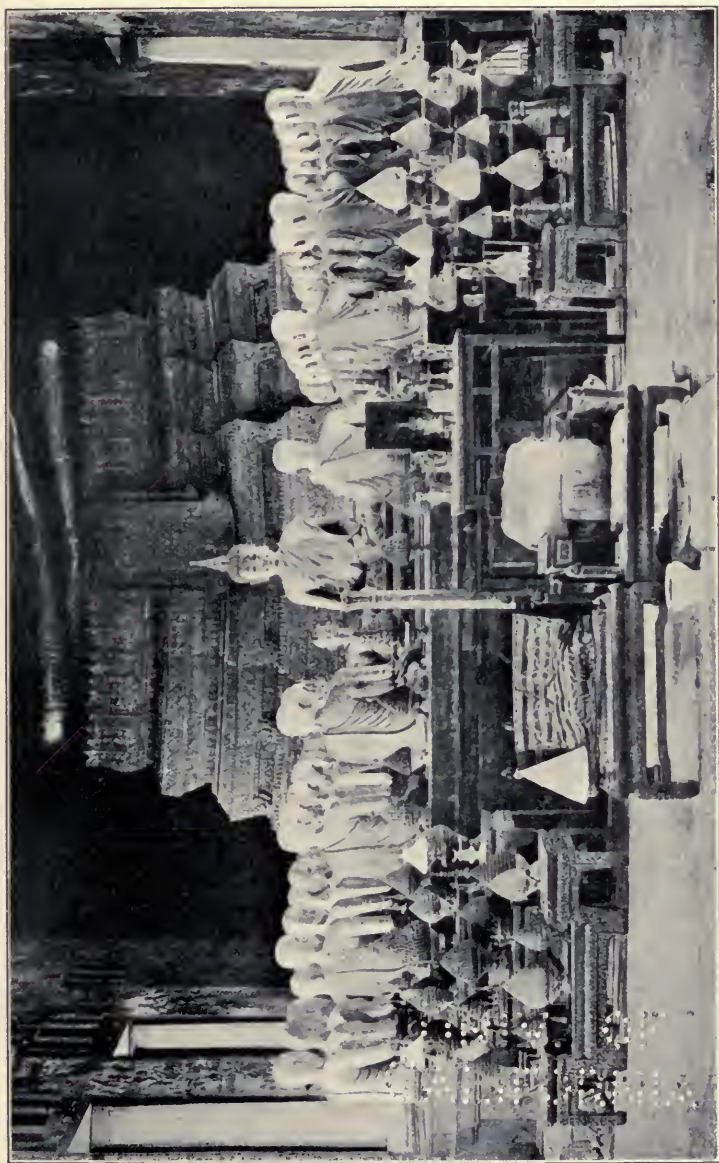
In order to understand the long rule of the Brahmans, and the influence which they still wield, it is necessary ever to keep in mind their position as the great literary caste. Their priestly supremacy has been repeatedly assailed, and during a space of nearly a thousand years it was overborne by the Buddhists. Throughout twenty-five centuries the Brahmans have been the writers and thinkers of India, the counselors of Hindu princes and the teachers of the Hindu people. The education and learning which so long gave them their power have ceased to be the monopoly of their caste, and may now be acquired by all races and all classes in India.

Chapter V

BUDDHISM. 543 B.C.-1000 A.D.

THE Brahmans had firmly established their power 600 years before Christ. After that date a new religion arose in India, called Buddhism, from the name of its founder, Gautama Buddha. This new religion was a rival to Brahmanism during more than a thousand years. About the ninth century A. D. Buddhism was driven out of India, but it is still professed by many millions of people in Asia, and some claim that it has more followers than any other religion in the world. However, this statement can not be substantiated, for there exist nothing but estimates of the population of several of the Buddhist countries and it is exceedingly difficult to determine who are and who are not to be reckoned as Buddhists. The result is that estimates of the number of Buddhists range all the way from 150,000,000 to 500,000,000. Estimates of the number of Christians in the world center around 450,000,000.

Gautama, afterward named Buddha, was the only son of Sudhodana, king of Kapilavastu. This prince ruled over the Sakya people, about 100 miles north of Benares, and within sight of the snow-topped Himalayas. The king wished to see his son grow up into a warrior like himself, but the young prince shunned the sports of his playmates, and spent his time alone in nooks of the palace garden. When he reached manhood, however, he showed himself brave and skillful with his weapons. He won his wife by a contest at arms over all rival chiefs. For a time he forgot the religious thoughts of his boyhood in the enjoyment of the world, but in his drives through the city he was struck by the sights of old age, disease, and death which met his eye; and he envied the calm of a holy man, who seemed to have raised his soul above the changes and sorrows of this life. After ten years, his wife bore to him an only son; and Gautama, fearing lest this new tie should bind him



BUDDHA AND HIS DISCIPLES—STONE IMAGES IN THE INTERIOR OF THE SIAMESE PAGODA VAT SUTHAT IN BANGKOK

After a photograph in the 27th volume of the "Annals du Musée Guinet," Paris, 1895

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543 B. C.-1000 A. D.

too closely to the things of earth, retired about the age of thirty to a cave in the jungles. The story is told how he turned away from the door of his wife's lamp-lit chamber, denying himself even a parting caress of his newborn babe, lest he should wake the sleeping mother, and galloped off into the darkness. After a gloomy night ride, he sent back his one companion, the faithful charioteer, with his horse and jewels to his father. Having cut off his long warrior hair, and exchanged his princely raiment for the rags of a poor passer-by, he went on alone a homeless beggar. This giving up of princely pomp, and of loved wife and newborn son, is the great renunciation which forms a favorite theme in the Buddhist scriptures.

For a time Gautama studied under two Brahman hermits, in Patna district. They taught him that the peace of the soul was to be reached only by mortifying the body. He then buried himself deeper in the jungles near Gaya, and during six years wasted himself by austerities in company with five disciples. The temple of Buddha-Gaya marks the site of his long penance. Instead of earning peace of mind by fasting and self-torture, he sank into a religious despair, during which the Buddhist scriptures affirm that the enemy of mankind, Mara, wrestled with him in bodily shape. Torn with doubts as to whether all his penance availed anything, the haggard hermit fell senseless to the earth. When he recovered, the mental agony had passed. He felt that the path to salvation lay not in self-torture in mountain-jungles or caves, but in preaching a higher life to his fellow-men. He gave up penance. His five disciples, shocked by this, forsook him; and he was left alone in the forest. The Buddhist scriptures depict him as sitting serene under a fig tree, while demons whirled round him with flaming weapons. From this temptation in the wilderness he came forth with his doubts forever laid at rest, seeing his way clear, and henceforth to be known as Buddha, literally "the enlightened."

Buddha began his public teaching in the Deer-Forest, near the great city of Benares. Unlike the Brahmans, he preached, not to one or two disciples of the sacred caste, but to the people. His first converts were common men, and among the earliest were women. After three months he had gathered around him sixty disciples, whom he sent forth to the neighboring countries with these words: "Go ye now, and preach the most excellent law." Two-thirds of each year he spent as a wandering preacher. The

remaining four months, or the rainy season, he abode at some fixed place, teaching the people who flocked around his little dwelling in the bamboo grove. His five old disciples, who had forsaken him in the time of his sore temptation in the wilderness, now came back to their master. Princes, merchants, artisans, Brahmans and hermits, husbandmen and serfs, noble ladies and repentant women who had sinned, were added to those who believed. Buddha preached throughout Behar, Oudh, and the adjacent districts in the Northwestern Provinces. He had ridden forth from his father's palace as a brilliant young prince. He now returned to it as a wandering preacher, in dingy yellow robes, with shaven head and the begging bowl in his hand. The old king heard him with reverence. The son, whom Buddha had left as a newborn babe, was converted to the faith; and his beloved wife, from the threshold of whose chamber he had ridden away into the darkness, became one of the first of Buddhist nuns.

Buddha's great renunciation took place in his thirtieth year. After long self-preparation, his public teaching began when he was about thirty-six, and during forty-four years he preached to the people. In foretelling his death, he said to his followers: "Be earnest, be thoughtful, be holy. Keep steadfast watch over your own hearts. He who holds fast to the law and discipline, and faints not, he shall cross the ocean of life and make an end of sorrow." "The world is fast bound in fetters," he added: "I now give it deliverance, as a physician who brings heavenly medicine. Keep your mind on my teaching; all other things change, this changes not. No more shall I speak to you. I desire to depart. I desire the eternal rest (Nirvana)." He spent the night in preaching, and in comforting a weeping disciple. His last words, according to one account, were, "Work out your salvation with diligence." He died calmly, at the age of eighty, under the shadow of a fig tree, according to the commonly received tradition in 543 B. C.; or according to later criticism in 478 B. C.

The secret of Buddha's success was, that he brought spiritual deliverance to the people. He preached that salvation was equally open to all men, and that it must be earned, not by propitiating imaginary deities, but by our own conduct. He thus did away with sacrifices, and with the priestly claims of the Brahmans as mediators between God and man. He taught that the state of a man in this life, in all previous and in all future lives, is the result of his

543 B. C.-1000 A. D.

own acts (Karma). What a man sows, that he must reap. As no evil remains without punishment, and no good deed without reward, it follows that neither priest nor God can prevent each act from bringing about its own consequences. Misery or happiness in this life is the unavoidable result of our conduct in a past life; and our actions here will determine our happiness or misery in the life to come. When any creature dies, he is born again in some higher or lower state of existence, according to his merit or demerit. His merit or demerit consists of the sum total of his actions in all previous lives. A system like this, in which our whole well-being—past, present, and to come—depends on ourselves, leaves little room for a personal God.

Life, according to Buddha, must always be more or less painful; and the object of every good man is to get rid of the evils of existence by merging his individual soul into the universal soul. This is Nirvana, literally "cessation." Some scholars explain it to mean that the soul is blown out like the flame of a lamp. Others hold that it is the extinction of the sins, sorrows, and selfishness of a man's individual life—the final rest of the soul. The pious Buddhist strives to reach a state of holy meditation in this world, and he looks forward to an eternal calm in a world to come. Buddha taught that this end could only be reached by leading a good life. Instead of the Brahman sacrifices, he laid down three great duties, namely, control over self, kindness to other men, and reverence for the life of all living creatures.

He urged on his disciples that they must not only follow the true path themselves, but that they should preach it to all mankind. Buddhism has from the first been a missionary religion. One of the earliest acts of Buddha's public ministry was to send forth the sixty disciples. He also formed a religious order, whose duty it was to go forth unpaid and preach to all nations. While, therefore, the Brahmans kept their ritual for the twice-born Aryan castes, Buddhism addressed itself not only to those castes and to the lower mass of the people, but to all the non-Aryan races throughout India, and eventually to the whole Asiatic world.

On the death of Buddha, legend says five hundred of his disciples met in a vast cave near Patna, to gather together his sayings. This was the First Council. They chanted the lessons of their master in three great divisions—the words of Buddha to his disciples; his code of discipline; and his system of doctrine. These

became the Three Collections (Tipitaka¹ in Pali and Tripitaka in Sanskrit) of Buddha's teaching; and the word for a Buddhist council means literally "a singing together." The complete text of the southern canon in the Pali language but in Siamese characters was printed under royal patronage at Bangkok, in 1893 and 1894, and 49 sets of the work were distributed among American libraries by the king of Siam.

A century afterward, the Second Council, of seven hundred, was held to settle disputes between the more and less strict followers of Buddhism. These two councils are not recognized as historical by scholars.

During the next two hundred years Buddhism spread over northern India. About 257 B. C., Asoka,² the king of Magadha or Behar, became a zealous convert to the faith. He was grandson of Chandra Gupta, whom we shall hear of in Alexander's camp. And his dates have been provisionally fixed as follows: his accession 257 B. C., his Council 244 B. C., his death 223 B. C., and it is by working back from these dates that the year 478 B. C. is determined for the death of Buddha. Asoka is said to have supported 64,000 Buddhist priests; he founded many religious houses; and his kingdom is called the land of the monasteries (Vihara or Behar) to this day. Asoka did for Buddhism what the Emperor Constantine afterward effected for Christianity—he made it a state religion. This he accomplished by five means—by a council to settle the faith; by edicts setting forth its principles; by a state department to watch over its purity; by missionaries to spread its doctrines; and by an authoritative revision or canon of the Buddhist scriptures.

In 244 B. C., Asoka convened at Patna the Third Buddhist Council, of one thousand elders. Evil men, taking on them the yellow robe of the Buddhist order, had given forth their own opinions as the teaching of Buddha. Such heresies were now corrected; and the Buddhism of southern Asia practically dates from Asoka's Council. In a number of edicts, both before and after that Council, he published throughout his empire the grand principles of the faith. Forty of these royal sermons are still found

¹ The Pali Text Society has published portions of the "Tipitaka" (London, 1882-1896); and translations of selected portions appear in the "Sacred Books of the East."

² See V. A. Smith, "Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India" ("Rulers of India" series, London, 1901).

543 B. C.-1000 A. D.

graven upon pillars, caves, and rocks throughout India. Asoka also founded a state department, with a minister of justice and religion at its head, to watch over the purity, and to direct the spread of the faith. Wells were to be dug and trees planted along the roads for the wearied wayfarers. Hospitals were established for man and beast. Officers were appointed to watch over family life and the morals of the people, and to promote instruction among the women as well as the youth. Asoka thought it his duty to convert all mankind to Buddhism. His rock inscriptions³ record how he sent forth missionaries "to the utmost limits of the barbarian countries," to "intermingle among all unbelievers" for the spread of religion. They were to mix equally with soldiers, Brahmans, and beggars, with the dreaded and the despised, both within the kingdom "and in foreign countries, teaching better things." Conversion was to be effected by persuasion, not by the sword. Buddhism was at once the most intensely missionary religion in the world, and the most tolerant. Asoka not only labored to spread his religion, but he also took steps to keep its doctrines pure. He collected the Buddhist sacred books into an authoritative version, in the Magadhi language of his central kingdom in Behar, a version which for two thousand years has formed the southern canon of the Buddhist scriptures.

The fourth and last of the great Buddhist Councils was held under the Scythian king, Kanishka, who ruled in northwestern India for sixty years, about 15 B. C. to 45 A. D. Another authority places his accession in 78 A. D. This Council of Kanishka is not recognized by the southern Buddhists, while the northern Buddhists in turn do not recognize the Council of Asoka.

He again revised the sacred books, and his version has supplied the northern canon to the Buddhists of Tibet, Tatar, and China. Meanwhile Buddhist missionaries were preaching all over Asia. About 243 B. C. Asoka's son is said to have carried his father's southern canon of the sacred books to Ceylon, whence it spread in later times to Burma and the Eastern Archipelago. The northern

³ These inscriptions purport to be the work of Piyadasi, who has in various ways been identified as Asoka. The most recent edition and commentary on these inscriptions is to be found in the "*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft*," vols. 37, 39, 40, 41, and 43. There are earlier editions by Cunningham (Calcutta, 1877), and by Senart (Paris, 1881-1886). One of these inscriptions, discovered as recently as 1896, purports to be upon the site of Buddha's birthplace.

canon of Buddhism, as laid down at the Council of Kanishka, became one of the state religions of China in 65 A. D.; and it is still professed by the northern Buddhists from Tibet to Japan. The Buddhist ritual and doctrines also spread westward, and exercised an influence upon early Christianity.⁴ Certain notable similarities between Buddhism and Catholicism have impressed observers such as Père Huc in Tibet. The most interesting fact, however, is the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. The story of Buddha appears as the life of a Christian saint in the writings of St. John of Damascus in the eight century, and as Saint Josaphat he is honored in the Greek Church on August 26 and in the Roman Church on November 27. A church in Palermo is dedicated to him.

Buddhism was thus formed into a state religion by the Councils of Asoka and Kanishka. It did not abolish caste. On the contrary, reverence to Brahmans and to the spiritual guide ranked as one of the three great duties, along with obedience to parents and acts of kindness to all men and animals. Buddha, however, divided mankind not by their caste, but according to their religious merit. He told his hearers to live good lives, not to offer victims to the gods. The public worship in Buddhist countries consists, therefore, in doing honor to the relics of holy men who are dead, instead of sacrifices. Its sacred buildings were, originally, not temples to the gods, but monasteries for the monks and nuns, with their bells and rosaries; or memorial shrines, reared over a tooth or bone of the founder of the faith.

While, on the one hand, many miraculous stories have grown up around Buddha's life and death, it has been denied,⁵ on the other hand, that such a person as Buddha ever existed. The date of his birth cannot be fixed with certainty; the dates which are here given for his life are those of the received Indian tradition. Some scholars hold that Buddhism is merely a religion based on the Brahmanical or Sankhya philosophy of Kapila. They argue that Buddha's birth is placed at a purely allegorical town, Kapila-Vastu,

⁴ See R. Spence Hardy, "Christianity and Buddhism Compared"; A. Lillie, "Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity"; R. Seydel, "*Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinem Verhältnissen zur Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre*," and "*Die Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien*"; Max Müller, "Essay on the Migration of Fables" in vol. IV. of "Chips from a German Workshop."

⁵ Compare E. Senart, "*Essai sur la légende du Buddha, son caractère et ses origines*."

543 B. C.-1000 A. D.

“the abode of Kapila” ; that his mother is called Maya-devi, in reference to the Maya, or “illusion” doctrine of Kapila’s system; and that the very name of Buddha is not that of any real person, but merely means “the enlightened.” This theory is so far true, that Buddhism was not a sudden invention of any single mind, but was worked out from the Brahman philosophy and religion which preceded it, but such a view leaves out of sight the two great traditional features of Buddhism, namely, the preacher’s appeal to the people, and the undying influence of his own beautiful life.

Buddhism never drove Brahmanism out of India. The two religions lived together during more than a thousand years, from before 250 B. C. to about 900 A. D. Modern Hinduism is the joint product of both. In certain kingdoms of India, and at certain periods, Buddhism prevailed. Brahmanism was at no time crushed; and the Brahmans in the end claimed Buddha as the ninth incarnation of their own god, Vishnu. The Chinese pilgrims to India from 400 to 630 A. D. found Buddhist monasteries and Brahman temples side by side.

In northern India, for example, a famous Buddhist king, Siladitya, ruled at the latter date. He seems to have been an Asoka of the seventh century A. D.; and he strictly carried out the two great Buddhist duties of charity and spreading the faith. He tried to extend Buddhism by means of a general council in 634 A. D. Twenty-one tributary sovereigns attended, together with the most learned Buddhist monks and Brahmans of their kingdoms. The object of the council was not merely to assert the Buddhist faith. It dealt with the two religions of India at that time. First, a discussion took place between the Buddhists and the Brahmans; second, a dispute between the two Buddhist sects who followed respectively the northern scriptures or canon of Kanishka and the southern scriptures or canon of Asoka. The rites of the populace were as mixed as the doctrines of their teachers. On the first day of the council, a statue of Buddha was installed with great pomp; on the second, an image of the Brahman sun-god; on the third, an idol of the Hindu Siva.

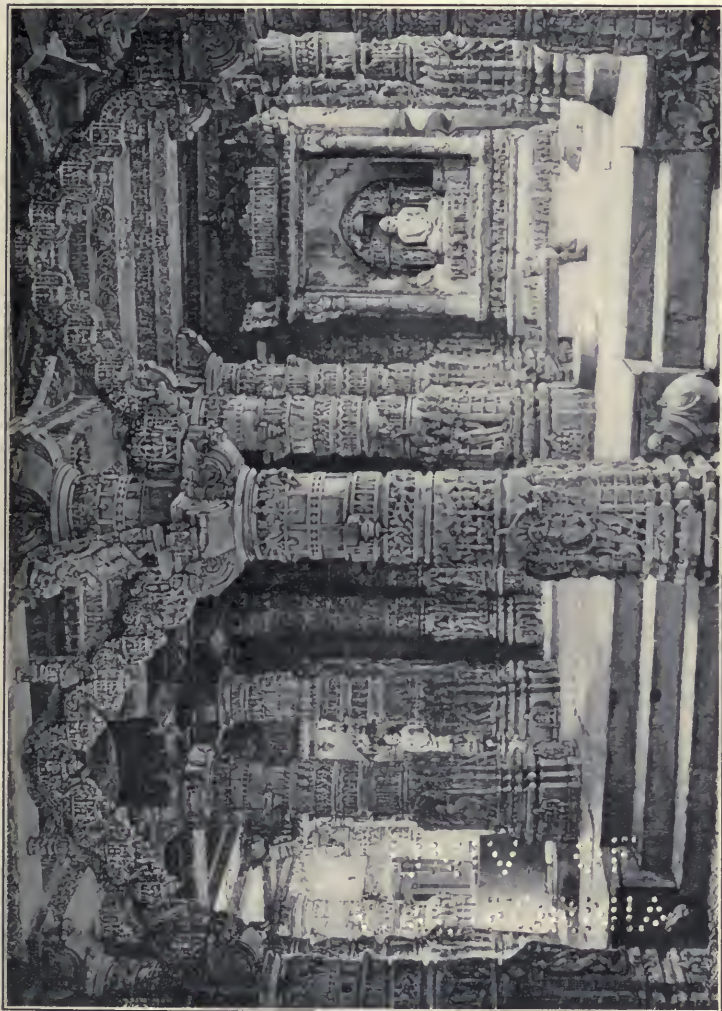
Siladitya held a solemn distribution of his royal treasures every five years. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, an account of whose travels is translated in Beal’s “Si-yu-ki, or Buddhist Records of the Western World,” describes how, on the plain where the Ganges and the Jumna unite their waters, near Al-

lahabad, all the kings of the empire, and a multitude of people, were feasted for seventy-five days. Siladitya brought forth the stores of his palace, and gave them away to Brahmans and Buddhists, monks and heretics, without distinction. At the end of the festival he stripped off his jewels and royal raiment, handed them to the bystanders, and, like Buddha of old, put on the rags of a beggar. By this ceremony the king commemorated the great renunciation of Buddha, and also practiced the highest duty laid down by the Brahmans, namely, almsgiving.

The vast Buddhist monastery of Nalanda, near Gaya, formed a seat of learning which recalls the Christian abbeys and universities of mediæval Europe. Ten thousand monks and novices of the eighteen Buddhist schools here studied theology, philosophy, law, science, especially medicine, and practiced their devotions. They lived in learned ease, fed by the royal bounty. Even this stronghold of Buddhism is a proof that Buddhism was only one of two hostile creeds in India. During one short period, about 640 A. D., it was three times destroyed by the enemies of the Buddhist faith.

Between 700 and 900 A. D. there arose various great reformers of the Brahman faith. After 800 A. D. Brahmanism gradually became the ruling religion. Legends dimly tell of persecutions stirred up by Brahman reformers. Although there were severe local persecutions of Buddhists, the downfall of Buddhism seems to have resulted partly from its own decay, and partly from new movements of religious thought, rather than from any general suppression by the sword. In the tenth century, only outlying states, such as Kashmir and Orissa, remained faithful; and before the Mohammedans fairly came upon the scene, Buddhism as a popular faith had almost disappeared from India.

During the last thousand years Buddhism has been a banished religion from its native Indian home, but it has won greater triumphs in its exile than it could have ever achieved in the land of its birth. It created a literature and a religion for nearly one-half of the human race; and it is supposed, by its influence on early Christianity, to have affected the beliefs of a large part of the other half. Five hundred millions of men, or forty per cent. of the inhabitants of the world, still follow the teaching of Buddha. Afghanistan, Nepal, Eastern Turkestan, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, China, Japan, the Eastern Archipelago, Siam, Burma, Ceylon, and India, at one time or another marked the magnificent circle



THE INTERIOR OF A JAIN TEMPLE AT MOUNT ABU IN RAJPUTANA
From a Photograph

543 B. C.-1000 A. D.

of its conquests. Its shrines and monasteries stretched from what are now provinces of the Russian empire; to Japan and the islands of the Malay Sea. During twenty-four centuries Buddhism has encountered and outlived a series of rival faiths. At this day it forms, with Christianity and Islam, one of the three great religions of the world.

Even in India Buddhism did not altogether die. Many of its doctrines still live in Hinduism. It also left behind a special sect, the Jains, who number about one and a half millions in India. Like the Buddhists, they deny the authority of the Veda, except in so far as it agrees with their own tenets; disregard sacrifice; practice a strict morality; believe that their past and future states depend upon their own actions rather than on any external deity; and refuse to kill either man or beast. The Jains divide time into three eras; and adore twenty-four jinas, or just men made perfect, in the past age, twenty-four in the present, and twenty-four in the era to come. The colossal statues of this great company of saints stand in their temples. They choose wooded mountains and the most lovely retreats of nature for their places of pilgrimage, and cover them with exquisitely carved shrines in white marble or dazzling stucco. The Jains of India are usually merchants or bankers. Their charity is boundless; and they form the chief supporters of the beast hospitals, which the old Buddhistic tenderness for animals has left in many of the cities of India. They claim, not without evidence, that the Jain religion is even older than Buddhism; and that the teaching of Buddha was based on the Jain faith.

Buddhism is still the religion of Burma, and has there over nine millions of followers, or nine-tenths of the population. The Buddhist monasteries have from ancient times been schools for the young as well as religious houses for the monks; and they now form the basis of the British system of public instruction throughout Burma. In all the rest of British India there are only about 227,000 pure Buddhists, chiefly in the Bengal districts adjacent to Burma, and in the remote valleys of the Himalayan ranges. From time to time Buddhism seems to take a new start in Lower Bengal, and Buddhist journals are published in Calcutta and elsewhere. The Jain faith, an allied religion to Indian Buddhism, has been described in the last paragraph. The noblest survivals of Buddhism in India are to be found not among any peculiar body, but in the religion of the whole Hindu people; in that principle of

the brotherhood of man, with the reassertion of which each new revival of Hinduism starts; in the asylum which the great Hindu sect of Vaishnavas affords to women who have fallen victims to caste rules, to the widow and the outcast; in that gentleness and charity to all men, which take the place of a poor-law in India, and give a high significance to the half-satirical epithet of the "mild" Hindu.

Chapter VI

THE GREEKS IN INDIA. 327-161 B. C.

THE external history of India commences with the Greek invasion in 327 B. C. Some indirect trade between India and the Mediterranean seems to have existed from very ancient times. Homer was acquainted with tin, and other articles of Indian merchandise, by their Sanskrit names; and a long list has been made of Indian products mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. The first Greek historian who speaks clearly of India is Hekataios of Miletos (549-486 B. C.); the knowledge of Herodotos (450 B. C.) ended at the Indus; and Ktesias, the physician (401 B. C.), brought back from his residence in Persia only a few facts about the products of India, its dyes and fabrics, monkeys and parrots. India to the east of the Indus was first made known to Europe by the historians and men of science who accompanied Alexander the Great, king of Macedon.

Alexander the Great entered India early in 327 B. C.; crossed the Indus above Attock, and advanced, without a struggle, over the intervening territory of Taxiles to the Hydaspes, the modern Jehlam. He found the Punjab divided into petty kingdoms jealous of each other, and many of them inclined to join an invader rather than to oppose him. One of these local monarchs, Porus, disputed the passage of the Jehlam with a force which, substituting chariots for guns, about equaled the army of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab in the nineteenth century. Plutarch gives a vivid description of the battle from Alexander's own letters. Having drawn up his troops at a bend of the Jehlam, about 14 miles west of the modern field of Chilianwala, the Greek king crossed under shelter of a tempestuous night. The chariots hurried out by Porus stuck in the muddy bank of the river. In the engagement which followed, the elephants of the Indian prince refused to face the Greeks, and, wheeling round, trampled Porus' own army under foot. His son fell early in the onset; Porus himself fled wounded; but on tendering his submission, he was confirmed in his kingdom, and

became Alexander's trusted friend. Alexander built two memorial cities on the site of his victory—Bucephala, on the west bank of the Jehlam, near the modern Jalalpur, named after his beloved charger slain in the battle; and Nikaia, the present Mong, on the east side of the river.

Alexander advanced southeast through the kingdom of the younger Porus to Amritsar, and, after a sharp bend backward to the west to fight the Kathaei at Sangala, he reached the Hyphasis, the modern Beas. Here, at a spot not far from the modern battle-field of Sobraon, he halted his victorious standards. He had resolved to march to the Ganges; but his troops were worn out by the heats of the Punjab summer, and broken in spirit by the hur-



ricanes of the southwest monsoon. The native tribes had already risen in his rear; and the conqueror of the world was forced to turn back before he had crossed even the frontier province of India. The Sutlej, the eastern districts of the Punjab, and the mighty Jumna still lay between him and the Ganges. A single defeat might have been fatal to his army; if the battle on the Jehlam had gone against him, not a Greek would probably have reached the Afghan side of the passes. Yielding at length to the clamor of his men, he led them back to the Jehlam. He there embarked 8000 of his troops in boats, and floated them down the river through the southern Punjab to Sind; the remainder of his army marched in two divisions along the banks.

The country was hostile, and the Greeks held only the land

326-316 B. C.

on which they encamped. At Multan, then as now the capital of the southern Punjab, Alexander had to fight a pitched battle with the Malli, and was severely wounded in taking the city. His enraged troops put every soul within it to the sword. Farther down, near the confluence of the five rivers of the Punjab, he made a long halt, built a town, Alexandria, the modern Uchh, and received the submission of the neighboring states. A Greek garrison and satrap, whom he here left behind, laid the foundation of a lasting Greek influence. Having constructed a new fleet, suitable for the greater rivers on which he was now to embark, Alexander proceeded southward through Sind, and followed the course of the Indus until he reached the ocean. In the apex of the delta, he founded or re-founded a city, Patala, which survives to this day as Haidarabad, the native capital of Sind. At the mouth of the Indus, Alexander beheld for the first time the majestic phenomenon of the tides. One part of his army he shipped off under the command of Nearchus to coast along the Persian Gulf; the remainder he himself led through southern Baluchistan and Persia to Susa, where, after terrible losses from want of water and famine on the march, he arrived in 325 B. C.

During his two years' campaign in the Punjab and Sind, Alexander subjugated no province; but he made alliances, founded cities, and planted Greek garrisons. He had given much territory to Indian chiefs devoted to his cause; every petty Indian court had its Greek faction; and the troops which he left behind at many points, from the Afghan frontier on the west to the Beas River on the east, and as far south as the Sind delta, seemed visible pledges of his return. A large part of his army remained in Bactria; and in the partition of the empire after Alexander's death in 323 B. C., Bactria and India fell to Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the Syrian monarchy.

Meanwhile a new power had arisen in India. Among the Indian adventurers who thronged Alexander's camp in the Punjab, each with his plot for winning a kingdom or crushing a rival, Chandra Gupta, an exile from the Gangetic valley, seems to have played a somewhat ignominious part. He tried to tempt the wearied Greeks on the banks of the Beas with schemes of conquest in the rich provinces of Hindustan to the southeast; but, having personally offended Alexander, he had to fly the camp in 326 B. C. In the confused years which followed, he managed, with the aid

of plundering hordes, to found a kingdom on the ruins of the Nanda dynasty in Magadha, or Behar (316 B. C.). He seized their capital, Pataliputra, the modern Patna; established himself firmly in the Gangetic valley, and compelled the northwestern principalities, Greek garrisons and Indian princes alike, to acknowledge his sovereignty. While the Greek general Seleucus was winning his way to the Syrian monarchy during the eleven years which followed Alexander's death, Chandra Gupta was building up an empire in northern India. Seleucus reigned in Syria from 312 to 280 B. C.; Chandra Gupta in the Gangetic valley from 316 to 292 B. C. In 312 B. C. these two monarchs advanced their kingdoms to each other's frontier; they had to decide whether they were to live in peace or at war. Seleucus in the end sold the Greek conquests in the Kabul Valley and the Punjab to Chandra Gupta, and gave his daughter in marriage to the Indian king. He also stationed a Greek ambassador at Chandra Gupta's court from 306 to 298 B. C.

This ambassador was the famous Megasthenes. His description of India is perhaps the best that reached Europe during two thousand years, from 300 B. C. to 1700 A. D. He says that the people were divided into seven castes instead of four—namely, philosophers, husbandmen, shepherds, artisans, soldiers, inspectors, and the counselors of the king. The philosophers were the Brahmans, and the prescribed stages of their religious life are indicated. Megasthenes draws a distinction between the Brahmans or Brachmanes and the Sramanas or Sarmanai, from which some scholars infer that the Buddhist Sramanas or monks were a recognized order fifty years before the Council of Asoka. But the Sarmanai of Megasthenes probably also include Brahmans in the first and third stages of their life, as students and forest recluses. The inspectors, or sixth class of Megasthenes, have been identified with the Buddhist supervisors of morals. Arrian's name for them, *episkopoi*, is the Greek word which has become our modern bishop or overseer of souls.

The Greek ambassador observed with admiration the absence of slavery in India, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. In valor, he says, they excelled all other Asiatics; they required no locks to their doors; above all, no Indian was ever known to tell a lie. Sober and industrious, good farmers, and skillful artisans, they scarcely ever had recourse to a lawsuit, and

298-161 B. C.

lived peaceably under their native chiefs. The kingly government is portrayed almost as described in the Code of Manu. Megasthenes mentions that India was divided into 118 kingdoms; some of which, as the Prasii, under Chandra Gupta, exercised suzerain powers over other kings or dependent princes. The Indian village system is well described, each of the village communities seeming to the Greek an independent republic. Megasthenes remarked the exemption of the husbandmen (Vaisyas) from war and public services; and enumerates the dyes, fibers, fabrics, and products animal, vegetable, and mineral, of India. Husbandry then as now depended on the periodical rains; and forecasts of the weather, with a view to "make adequate provision against a coming deficiency," formed a special duty of the Brahmans. "The philosopher," he says, "who errs in his predictions observes silence for the rest of his life."

After the time of Alexander the Great the Greeks made no important conquests in India. Antiochus II., the grandson of Seleucus, entered into a treaty with the famous Buddhist king, Asoka, the grandson of Chandra Gupta, in 256 B. C. The Greeks afterward founded a powerful independent kingdom in Bactria, to the northwest of the Himalayas. During the hundred years after the Indo-Greek treaty of 256 B. C. the Greco-Bactrian kings sent invading hosts into the Punjab; some of whom reached eastward as far as Muttra, or even Oudh, and southward to Sind and Cutch, between 181 and 161 B. C., but they founded no kingdoms; and the only traces which the Greeks left in India were their science of astronomy, their beautiful sculptures, and their coins. Some of the early Buddhist statues, after 250 B. C., have exquisite Greek faces; and the same type is preserved in the most ancient carvings on the Hindu temples. By degrees even this trace of Greek influence faded away; but specimens of Indo-Greek sculptures may still be found in the museums of India.

Chapter VII

THE SCYTHIC INROADS. 100 B. C.-725 A. D.

THE Greek or Bactrian expeditions into India ended more than a century before Christ; but a new set of invaders soon began to pour into India from the north. These came from central Asia, and, for want of a more exact name, have been called the Scythians. They belonged to many tribes, and they form a connecting link between Indian and Chinese history. As the Aryan race in the west of Asia had, perhaps 3000 years before Christ, sent off branches to Europe on the one hand, and to India on the other, so the Scythians, who dwelt to the east of the old Aryan camping-ground in Asia, swarmed forth into India and to China. There is some reason to believe that the great Scythic migration at the close of the seventh century B. C., which ruined the Assyrian empire, sent an offshoot into India; and some writers have found reason to believe that Buddha was a descendant of such a Scythian tribe. Certainly the northern Buddhists frequently call Buddha, Sakya-Muni. That Sakya is equivalent to Scythian is possible, but is not proven. Certainly the northern Buddhists would not be loath to ascribe a Scythian origin to Buddha. These Scythic inroads went on during a great period of time, but they took place in very great force during the century preceding the birth of Christ. They were the forerunners of a long series of invasions which devastated northern India more than a thousand years later, under such leaders as Genghis Khan and Timur, and which in the end founded the Mogul empire.

About the year 126 B. C., the Tatar or Scythian tribe of Su are said to have driven out the Greek dynasty from the Bactrian kingdom, on the northwest of the Himalayas. Soon afterward the Scythians rushed through the Himalayan passes and conquered the Greco-Bactrian settlements in the Punjab. About the beginning of the Christian era they had founded a strong monarchy in northern India and in the countries just beyond. Their most famous king was Kanishka, who summoned the Fourth Buddhist

100-57 B. C.

Council about 40 A. D. King Kanishka held his court in Kashmir; but his suzerainty extended from Agra and Sind in the south, to Yarkland and Khokand on the north of the Himalayas. He seems to have carried on successful wars as far as China. Six hundred years afterward, in 630 A. D., a town called China-pati in the Punjab was pointed out as the place where King Kanishka kept his Chinese hostages. The Scythian monarchies of northern India came in contact with the Buddhist kingdom under the successors of Asoka in Hindustan. The Scythians themselves became Buddhists; but they made changes in that faith. The result was, as we have seen, that while the countries to the south of India had adopted the Buddhist religion as settled by Asoka's Council in 244 B. C., the Buddhist religion as settled by Kanishka's Council in 40 A. D. became the faith of the Scythian nations to the north of India, from central Asia to Japan.

Kanishka was the most famous of the Scythian kings in India, but there were many other Scythian settlements. Indeed, the Scythians are believed to have poured into India in such numbers as to make up a large proportion of the population in the north-western frontier provinces at the present day. For example, two old Scythian tribes, the Getæ and the Dahæ, are said to have dwelt side by side in central Asia, and perhaps advanced together into India. Some writers hold that the Jats, who form nearly one-half of the inhabitants of the Punjab, are descended from these ancient Getæ; and that a great subdivision of the Jats, called the Dhe, in like manner sprang from the Dahæ. Other scholars try to show that certain of the Rajput tribes are of Scythian origin. However this may be, it is clear that many Scythian inroads into India took place from the first century B. C. to the fifth century A. D.

During that long period several Indian monarchs won fame by attempting to drive out the Scythians. The best known of these is Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain in Malwa, in honor of whose victories one of the great eras in India, or systems of reckoning historical dates, is supposed to have been founded. It is called the Samvat era, and begins in 57 B. C. Its reputed founder is still known as Vikramaditya Sakari, or Vikramaditya the enemy of the Scythians. According to the Indian tradition, he was a learned as well as a valiant monarch, and he gathered round him the poets and philosophers of his time. The chief of these were called "the nine jewels" of the court of Vikramaditya. They became so

famous that in after times a great many of the best Sanskrit poems or dramas, and works of philosophy or science, were ascribed to them; although the style and contents of the works prove that they must have been written at widely different periods. The truth is that the name Vikramaditya is merely a royal title, meaning "a very sun in prowess," which has been borne by several kings in Indian history, but the Vikramaditya of the first century before Christ was the most famous of them all—famous alike as a defender of his country against the Scythian hordes, as a patron of men of learning, and as a good ruler of his subjects.

About a hundred years later, another valiant Indian king arose against the Scythians. His name was Salivahana; and a new era, called the Saka or Scythian, was founded in his honor in 78 A. D. These two eras—the Samvat, beginning in 57 B. C., and the Saka, commencing in 78 A. D.—still form two well-known systems of reckoning historical dates in India.

During the next five centuries, three great Indian dynasties maintained the struggle against the Scythians. The Sah kings reigned in the northwest of the Bombay presidency from 60 B. C. to 235 A. D. The Gupta kings reigned in Oudh and northern India from 319 to 470 A. D., when they seem to have been overpowered by fresh hosts of Huns or Scythians. The Valabhi kings ruled over Cutch, Malwa, and the northwestern districts of Bombay from 480 to after 722 A. D. The Greek traders in the Red Sea heard of the Huns as a powerful nation of northern India about 535 A. D. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, gives a full account of the court and people of Valabhi from 630 to 640 A. D. His description shows that Buddhism was the state religion; but heretics (*i. e.*, Brahmans) abounded; and the Buddhists themselves were divided between the northern school of the Scythian dynasties, and the southern or Indian school of Asoka. The Valabhi dynasty seems to have been overthrown by the early Arab invaders of Sind in the eighth century A. D.¹

¹ For fuller details on the Scythian inroads and for full biographical references, see the corresponding chapter in W. W. Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," vol. VI., or his "Indian Empire," which the author says "has been pieced together from the unfinished researches of the Archæological Survey and from local investigations."

Chapter VIII

GROWTH OF HINDUISM. 700-1500

WE have now got a view of the three races which make up the Indian people. These were, first, the non-Aryans, or the earliest inhabitants of the country, sometimes called the aborigines. Second, the Aryan race, who came to India from central Asia in prehistoric times. Third, the Scythians or Tatars, who had also begun to move into India before the dawn of history, and whose later hordes came in great force between the first century B. C. and the fifth century after Christ. Each of these races had their own customs, their own religion, and their own speech.

The non-Aryans were hunting tribes. In their family life, some of them kept up the early form of marriage, according to which a woman was the wife of several brethren, and a man's property descended, not to his own, but to his sister's children. In their religion, the non-Aryans worshiped demons, and tried by bloody sacrifices or human victims to avert the wrath of the malignant spirits whom they called gods.

The Aryans early advanced beyond the rude existence of the hunter to the semi-settled industry of the cattle-breeder and tiller of the soil. In their family life a woman had only one husband, and their customs and laws of inheritance were nearly the same as those which now prevail in India. In their religion they worshiped bright and friendly gods.

The third race, or the Scythians, held a position between the other two. The early Scythians, indeed, who arrived in prehistoric times, may have been as wild as the non-Aryans, and they probably supplied a section of what we call the aborigines of India, but the Scythian hordes, who poured into India from 126 B. C. to 400 A. D., were neither hunters like the Indian non-Aryan tribes, nor half-cultivators like the Aryans. They were shepherds or herdsmen, who roamed across the plains of central Asia with their cattle, and whose one talent was for war.

The Aryans supplied, therefore, the civilizing power in India.

One of their divisions or castes, the Vaisyas, brought the soil under the plow; another caste, the Kshatriyas, conquered the rude non-Aryan peoples; their third caste, the Brahmans, created a religion and a literature. The early Brahman religion made no account of the lower races; but, as we have seen, about 500 B. C. a wider creed, called the Buddhist, was based upon it. This new faith did much to bring the early non-Aryan tribes under the influence of the higher Aryan race, and it was accepted by the later Scythian hordes who came into India from 126 B. C. to 400 A. D. Buddhism was therefore the first great bond of union among the Indian races. It did something to combine the non-Aryans, the Aryans, and the Scythians into a people with similar customs and a common faith, but it was driven out of India before it finished its work.

The work was continued by the Brahmans. This ancient caste, which had held a high place even during the triumph of the Buddhist religion, became all-powerful upon the decay of that faith. Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim to India in 640 A. D., relates how the Brahmans, or, as he calls them, the heretics, were again establishing their power. The Buddhist monasteries had, even at that time, a struggle to hold their own against the Brahman temples. During the next two centuries the Brahmans gradually got the upper hand. The conflict between the two religions brought forth a great line of Brahman apostles, some of whose lives are almost as beautiful as that of Buddha himself. The first of these, Kumarila, a holy Brahman of Behar, began his preaching in the eighth century A. D. He taught the old Vedic doctrine of a personal Creator and God. The Buddhists had no personal God. According to a later legend, Kumarila not only preached against the Buddhists, but persuaded a king of southern India to persecute them. This prince, it is said, "commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the young children of the Buddhists, from the southernmost point of India to the Snowy Mountain. Let him who slays not, be slain." At that time, however, there was no king in India whose power to persecute reached from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The story is probably an exaggerated account of a local persecution by one of the many princes of southern India. The Brahmans gained the victory partly because Buddhism was itself decaying, and partly because they offered a new bond of union to the Indian races. This new bond of union was Hinduism.

700-1500

Hinduism is a social league and a religious alliance. As a social league, it rests upon caste, and has its roots deep down in the race elements of the Indian people. As a religious alliance, it represents the union of the Vedic faith of the Brahmans with Buddhism on the one hand, and with the ruder rites of the non-Aryan peoples on the other. We must get a clear view of both these aspects of Hinduism as a social league, and as a religious alliance.

As a social league, Hinduism arranged the people into the old division of the "twice-born" Aryan castes, namely the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas; and the "once-born" castes, consisting of the non-Aryan Sudras, and the classes of mixed descent. This arrangement of the Indian races remains to the present day. The "twice-born" castes still wear the sacred thread, and claim a joint, although an unequal, inheritance in the holy books of the Veda. The "once-born" castes are still denied the sacred thread; and they were not allowed to study the holy books, until the English set up schools in India for all classes of the people. While caste is thus founded on the distinctions of race, it has been influenced by two other systems of division, namely, the employments of the people, and the localities in which they live. Even in the oldest times, the castes had separate occupations assigned to them. They could be divided either into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; or into priests, warriors, husbandmen, and serfs. They are also divided according to the parts of India in which they live. Even the Brahmans have among themselves ten distinct classes, or rather nations. Five of these classes or Brahman nations live to the north of the Vindhya Mountains; five of them live to the south. Each of the ten feels itself to be quite apart from the rest; and they have among themselves no fewer than 1886 subdivisions or separate Brahmanical tribes. In like manner, the Kshatriyas or Rajputs number 590 separate tribes in different parts of India.

While, therefore, Indian caste seems at first a very simple arrangement of the people into four classes, it is in reality a very complex one, for it rests upon three distinct systems of division; namely, upon race, occupation, and geographical position. It is very difficult even to guess at the number of the Indian castes, but there are not fewer than 3000 of them which have separate names, and which regard themselves as separate classes. The different

castes cannot intermarry with each other, and most of them cannot eat together. The ordinary rule is that no Hindu of good caste can touch food cooked by a man of inferior caste. By rights, too, each caste should keep to its own occupation. Indeed, there has been a tendency to erect every separate kind of employment or handicraft in each separate province into a distinct caste. As a matter of practice, the castes often change their occupation, and the lower ones sometimes raise themselves in the social scale. Thus the Vaisya caste were in ancient times the tillers of the soil. They have in most provinces given up this toilsome occupation, and the Vaisyas are now the great merchants and bankers of India. Their fair skins, intelligent faces, and polite bearing, must have altered since the days when their forefathers plowed, sowed, and reaped under the hot sun. Such changes of employment still occur on a smaller scale throughout India.

The system of caste exercises a great influence upon the industries of the people. Each caste is, in the first place, a trade-guild. It insures the proper training of the youth of its own special craft; it makes rules for the conduct of the caste-trade; it promotes good feeling by feasts or social gatherings. The famous manufactures of mediæval India, its muslins, silks, cloth of gold, inlaid weapons, and exquisite work in precious stones—were brought to perfection under the care of the castes or trade-guilds. Such guilds may still be found in full work in many parts of India. Thus, in the northwestern districts of the Bombay presidency, all heads of artisan families are ranged under their proper trade-guild. The trade-guild or caste prevents undue competition among the members, and upholds the interest of its own body in any dispute arising with other craftsmen.

In 1873, for example, a number of the bricklayers in Ahmabad could not find work. Men of this class sometimes added to their daily wages by rising very early in the morning, and working overtime. When several families complained that they could not get employment, the bricklayers' guild met, and decided that as there was not enough work for all, no member should be allowed to work in extra hours. In the same city, the clothdealers in 1872 tried to cut down the wages of the sizers or men who dress the cotton cloth. The sizers' guild refused to work at lower rates, and remained six weeks on strike. At length they arranged their dispute, and both the trade-guilds signed a stamped agreement

700-1500

fixing the rates for the future. Each of the higher castes or trade-guilds in Ahmadabad receives a fee from young men on entering their business. The revenue derived from these fees, and from fines upon members who break caste rules, is spent in feasts to the brethren of the guild, and in helping the poorer craftsmen or their orphans. A favorite plan of raising money in Surat is for the members of the trade to keep a certain day as a holiday, and to shut up all their shops except one. The right to keep open this one shop is put up to auction, and the amount bid is expended on a feast. The trade-guild or caste allows none of its members to starve. It thus acts as a mutual insurance society and takes the place of a poor law in India. The severest social penalty which can be inflicted upon a Hindu is to be put out of his caste.

Hinduism is, however, not only a social league resting upon caste, but also a religious alliance based upon worship. As the various race elements of the Indian people have been welded into caste, so the simple old beliefs of the Veda, the mild doctrines of Buddha, and the fierce rites of the non-Aryan tribes, have been thrown into the melting-pot, and poured out thence as a mixture of precious metal and dross, to be worked up into the complex worship of the Hindu gods.

Buddhism not only inspired Hinduism with its noble spirit of charity, but also bequeathed to it many of its institutions. The Hindu monasteries in Orissa in our own day recall the Buddhist convents of King Siladitya eleven hundred years ago. At the present time, the bankers' guild of Surat devotes a part of the fees which it levies on bills of exchange to maintain a hospital for sick animals—a true survival of the system of medical aid for man and beast which King Asoka founded in 244 B. C. The religious life of the Hindu Vishnuite sect is governed by the old rules laid down by Buddha himself. The great Bengal scholar, Rajendra Lala Mitra, himself a Vishnuite, believed that the car festival of Jagannath is a relic of a Buddhist procession.

Hinduism also drew much of its strength, and many of its rites, from the non-Aryan peoples of India. To them is due the worship of stumps of wood, of rude stones, and of trees, which makes up the religion of the villagers of Bengal. Each hamlet has usually its local god, which it adores in the form either of an unhewn stone, or a stump, or a tree marked with red-lead. Sometimes a lump of clay placed under a tree does service for a deity.

Serpent-worship, and the honor paid by certain sects of Hindus to the *linga*, or symbol of male creative energy, may probably be traced back to the Scythian tribes who came to India, in very early times, from central Asia.

Hinduism boasts a line of religious founders stretching from about 700 A. D. to the present day. The lives of the mediæval saints and their wondrous works are recorded in the *Bhakta-Mala*, or "the garland of the faithful," compiled by Nabhaji about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is the '*Acta Sanctorum* and Golden Legend of Hinduism. The same wonders are not recorded of each of its apostles, but miracles abound in the lives of all. The greater ones rank as divine incarnations prophesied of old. According to the Hindu stories, some were born of virgins; others overcame lions; raised the dead; their hands and feet when cut off sprouted afresh; prisons were opened to them; the sea received them and returned them to the land unhurt, while the earth opened and swallowed up their slanderers. Their lives were marvelous, and the deaths of the greatest of them a solemn mystery.

The first in the line of apostles was Kumarila, a Brahman of Behar, who has been already referred to as having stirred up a legendary persecution of Buddhism throughout India in the eighth century A. D. His yet more famous disciple was Sankara Acharya, with whom we reach historical ground. Sankara was born in Malabar, wandered as an itinerant preacher over India as far as Kashmir, and died, aged 32, at Kedarnath in the Himalayas. He molded the Vedanta philosophy of the Brahmans into its final form, and popularized it into a national religion. It is scarcely too much to say that since his short life in the eighth or ninth century every new Hindu sect has had to start with a personal God. He addressed himself to the high-caste philosophers on the one hand, and to the low-caste multitude on the other. He left behind, as the twofold results of his life's work, a compact Brahman sect and a popular religion.

In the hands of Sankara's followers and apostolic successors, Siva-worship became one of the two chief religions of India. Siva, at once the destroyer and reproducer, represented profound philosophical doctrines, and was early recognized as being in a special sense the god of the Brahmans. To them he was the symbol of death as merely a change of life. On the other hand, his terrible

700-1500

aspects, preserved in his long list of names, from Rudra, "the roarer," of the Veda, to Bhima, "the dread one," of the modern Hindu pantheon, well adapted him to the religion of fear prevalent among the ruder non-Aryan races. Siva, in his twofold character, thus became the deity alike of the highest and of the lowest castes. He is the Maha-deva, or great god of modern Hinduism; his wife is Devi, literally and preëminently "the goddess." His symbol of worship is the linga, or emblem of male reproduction; his sacred beast, the bull, is connected with the same idea; a trident tops his temples. His images partake of his double nature. The Brahmanical conception of Siva is represented by his attitude as a fair-skinned man, seated in profound thought, the symbol of the fertilizing Ganges above his head, and the bull (emblem alike of procreation and of Aryan plow-tillage) near at hand. The wilder non-Aryan aspects of his character are signified by his necklace of skulls, his collar of twining serpents, his tiger-skin, and his club with a human head at the end. Siva has five faces and four arms. His wife Devi, in like manner, appears in her Aryan or Brahmanical form as Uma, "light," a gentle goddess and the type of high-born loveliness; in her composite character as Durga, a golden-colored woman, beautiful but menacing, riding on a tiger; and in her terrible non-Aryan aspects as Kali, a black fury, of a hideous countenance, dripping with blood, crowned with snakes, and hung round with skulls.

The ritual of Siva-worship preserves, in an even more striking way, the traces of its double origin. The higher minds still adore the godhead by silent contemplation, as prescribed by Sankara, without the aid of external rites. The ordinary Brahman hangs a wreath of flowers around the phallic linga, or places before it harmless offerings of rice. The low-castes pour out the lives of countless goats at the feet of the terrible Kali, the wife of Siva; and until lately, in time of pestilence and famine, tried in their despair to appease that relentless goddess by human blood. During the famine of 1866, in a temple of Kali, a boy was found with his neck cut, the eyes staring open, and the stiff clotted tongue thrust out between the teeth. In another temple at Hugli, a railroad station only twenty-four miles from Calcutta, a head was left before the idol, decked with flowers. Such cases are true survivals of the regular system of human sacrifices which we have seen among the non-Aryan tribes. They have nothing to do with the old mystic

purusha-medha, or man-offering, whether real or symbolical, of the ancient Aryan faith, but form a part of the non-Aryan religion of terror, which demands that the greater the need, the greater shall be the propitiation.

The thirteen chief sects of Siva-worshippers faithfully represent the composite character of their god. The Smarta Brahmans, the lineal successors of Sankara's disciples, still maintain their life of calm monastic piety in southern India. The Dandis, or ascetics, divide their time between begging and meditation. Some of them adore, without rites, Siva as the third person of the Aryan trinity. Others practice an apparently non-Aryan ceremony of initiation, by drawing blood from the inner part of the novice's knee as an offering to the god in his more terrible form, Bhairava. The Dandis follow the non-Aryan custom of burying their dead, or commit the body to a sacred stream. The Yogis include every class of devotee, from the speechless mystic, who by long suppressions of the breath has lost the consciousness of existence in an ecstatic union with Siva, to the impostor who pretends that he can sit upon air, and the juggler who travels with a performing goat. The Sivaite sects descend, through various gradations of self-mortification and abstraction, to the Aghoris, who eat carrion and gash their bodies with knives. The lowest sects follow non-Aryan rather than Aryan types, alike as regards their use of animal food and their bloody sacrifices.

Vishnu had always been a very human god, from the time when he makes his appearance in the Veda as a solar myth, the "unconquerable preserver," striding across the universe in three steps. His later incarnations or avatars made him the familiar friend of man. Of these incarnations, which vary according to tradition from ten to twenty-two in number, Vishnu-worship, with the unerring instinct of a popular religion, chose the two most beautiful for adoration. In his two human forms as Rama and Krishna, the god Vishnu attracted to himself innumerable loving legends, Rama, his seventh incarnation, is the hero of the Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana. In his eighth incarnation, as Krishna, Vishnu appears as a high-souled prince in the other epic, the Mahabharata. As Krishna, also, he afterward grew into the central figure of Indian pastoral poetry; was spiritualized into the supreme god of Vishnuite Puranas; and now flourishes as the most popular deity of the Hindus. Under his title of Jagannath, "the lord of the

700-1500

world," Vishnu is especially worshiped at Puri,¹ whence his fame has spread through the civilized world. Nothing can be more unjust than the vulgar story which associates his car festival with the wholesale self-murder of his worshipers. Vishnu is essentially a bright and friendly god, who asks no offerings but flowers, and to whom the shedding of blood is a pollution. The official records, and an accurate examination on the spot, disprove the calumnies of some English writers on this subject. Fatal accidents frequently happened amid an excited crowd. Suicides on occasions have taken place, but the stories of wholesale bloodshed at one time told about Jagannath, were merely ignorant libels on a gentle and peaceful god, to whom no sacrifice which cost the life even of a kid could be offered. The Vishnu sects are called Vaishnavas.

In the eleventh century the Vishnuite doctrines were gathered into a religious treatise. The Vishnu Purana dates from about 1045 A. D., and probably represents, as indeed its name implies, "ancient" traditions of Vishnu which had coexisted with Sivaism and Buddhism for centuries. It derived its doctrines from the Vedas, not, however, in a direct channel, but filtered through the two great epic poems. It forms one of the eighteen Puranas or Sanskrit theological works, in which the Brahman molders of Vishnuism and Sivaism embodied their rival systems. These works especially extol the second and third members of the Hindu triad, now claiming the preëminence for Vishnu as the sole deity, and now for Siva; but in their higher flights rising to a recognition that both are but forms for representing the one eternal God. They are said to contain 1,500,000 lines. They exhibit only the Brahmanical aspect of Vishnu-worship and Siva-worship, and are devoid of any genuine sympathy for the lower castes.

The first of the line of Vishnuite reformers was Ramanuja, a Brahman of southern India. In the middle of the twelfth century he led a movement against the Sivaites, proclaiming the unity of God, under the title of Vishnu, the cause and the creator of all things. Persecuted by the Chola king in southern India, who tried to enforce Sivaite conformity throughout his dominions, Ramanuja fled to the Jain sovereign of Mysore. This Jain prince he con-

¹ For a fuller account of the worship of Jagannath, or Juggernaut, at Puri, see the corresponding chapter in Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer," vol. VI., or in Hunter's "Indian Empire"; and also the article "Peri" (town), in the "Imperial Gazetteer," vol. XI.

verted to the Vishnuite faith by expelling an evil spirit from his daughter. Seven hundred monasteries, of which four still remain, are said to have been erected by his followers before his death.

Ramanand stands fifth in the apostolic succession from Ramanuja, and spread his doctrine through northern India in the fourteenth century. He had his headquarters in a monastery at Benares, but wandered from place to place, preaching the one God under the name of Vishnu. He chose twelve disciples, not from the priests or nobles, but among the despised castes. One of them was a leather-dresser, another a barber, and the most distinguished of all was the reputed son of a weaver. Ramanuja had addressed himself chiefly to the pure Aryan castes, and wrote in the Sanskrit language of the Brahmans. Ramanand appealed to the people, and the literature of his sect is in the dialects familiar to the masses. The Hindi vernacular owes its development into a written language, partly to the folk-songs of the peasantry and the war-ballads of the Rajput court-bards, but chiefly to the literary requirements of the new popular religion of Vishnu.

Kabir, one of the twelve disciples of Ramanand, carried his doctrines throughout Bengal at the beginning of the fifteenth century. As his master had labored to gather together all castes of the Hindus into one common faith, so Kabir, seeing that the Hindus were no longer the whole inhabitants of India, tried, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, to build up a religion that should embrace Hindu and Mohammedan alike. The writings of his sect acknowledge that the God of the Hindu is also the God of the Mussulman. His universal name is The Inner, whether he be invoked as the Ali of the Mohammedans, or as the Rama of the Hindus. "To Ali and to Rama we owe our life," say the scriptures of Kabir's sect, "and we should show like tenderness to all who live. . . . The Hindu fasts every eleventh day; the Mussulman on the Ramazah. Who formed the remaining months and days, that you should venerate but one? . . . The city of the Hindu God is to the east [Benares], the city of the Mussulman God is to the west [Mecca]; but explore your own heart, for there is the God both of the Mussulmans and of the Hindus. Behold but One in all things. He to whom the world belongs, he is the father of the worshippers alike of Ali and of Rama. He is my guide, he is my priest."

At the close of the fifteenth century Nanak Shah taught doc-



A COLONNADE IN THE INTERIOR OF THE HINDU TEMPLE ON THE ISLAND OF RAMESWARAM
From a Photograph

TO THE
ABORIGINAL

700-1500

trines in the Punjab differing but little from those promulgated by Kabir in Bengal. His followers ultimately formed the religious and political organization known as the Sikhs.²

In 1486 Chaitanya was born, and spread the Vishnuite doctrines, with the worship of Jagannath, throughout the deltas of Bengal and Orissa. Signs and wonders attended Chaitanya through life; and during four centuries he has been worshiped as an incarnation of Vishnu. Extricating ourselves from the halo of legend which surrounds this apostle of Jagannath, we know little of his private life except that he was the son of a Brahman settled at Nadiya in Bengal; that in his youth he married the daughter of a celebrated saint; that at the age of twenty-four he forsook the world, and, renouncing the state of a householder, repaired to Orissa, where he devoted the rest of his days to the propagation of the faith. He disappeared in 1527 A. D. With regard to his doctrine we have the most ample evidence. He held that all men are alike capable of faith, and that all castes by faith become equally pure. Implicit belief and incessant devotion were his watchwords. Contemplation rather than ritual was his pathway to salvation. Obedience to the religious guide is one of the leading features of his sect; but he warned his disciples to respect their teachers as second fathers, and not as gods. The great end of his system, as of all Indian forms of worship, is the liberation of the soul. He held that such liberation does not mean the annihilation of separate existence. It consists in nothing more than an entire freedom from the stains and the frailties and sinful desires of the body.

The followers of Chaitanya belong to every caste, but they acknowledge the rule of the gosains or descendants of the original disciples. The sect is open alike to the married and unmarried. It has its celibates and wandering mendicants, but its religious teachers are generally married men. They live with their wives and children in clusters of houses around a temple to Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu. The adoration of the founder, Chaitanya, is thus a sort of family worship in Orissa. The landed gentry worship him with a daily ritual in household chapels dedicated to his name. After his death, a sect arose among his followers, who asserted the spiritual independence of women. In their monastic

² See Trumpp, "*Nanak, der Stifter der Sikh-Religion*" and "*Die Religion der Sikhs.*"

inclosures, male and female cenobites live in celibacy, the women shaving their heads, with the exception of a single lock of hair. The two sexes chant the praises of Vishnu and Chaitanya together in hymn and solemn dance. The really important doctrine of the sect is their recognition of the value of women as instructors of the outside female community. For long they were the only teachers admitted into the *zananas* of good families in Bengal. Three-quarters of a century ago they had effected a change for the better in the state of female education; and the value of such instruction was assigned as the cause of the sect spreading so widely in Calcutta.

The death of Chaitanya marked the beginning of a spiritual decline in Vishnu-worship. About 1520 Vallabha-Swami preached in northern India that the liberation of the soul did not depend upon the mortification of the body; and that God was to be sought, not in nakedness and hunger and solitude, but amid the enjoyments of this life. An opulent sect had, from an early period, attached itself to the worship of Krishna and his bride Radha, a mystic significance being of course assigned to their pastoral loves. Still more popular among Hindu women is the adoration of Krishna as the Bala Gopala, or the infant cowherd, perhaps unconsciously affected by the Christian worship of the Divine Child. Another influence of Christianity on Hinduism may possibly be traced in the growing importance assigned by the Krishna sects to faith, as an all-sufficient instrument of salvation.

Vallabha-Swami was the apostle of Vishnuism as a religion of pleasure. The special object of his homage was Vishnu in his pastoral incarnation, in which he took the form of the divine youth Krishna, and led an Arcadian life in the forest. Shady bowers, lovely women, exquisite viands, and everything that appeals to the luscious sensuousness of a tropical race, are mingled in his worship. His daily ritual consists of eight services, in which Krishna's image, as a beautiful boy, is delicately bathed, anointed with essences, splendidly attired, and sumptuously fed. The followers of the first Vishnuite reformers dwelt together in secluded monasteries, and went about scantily clothed, living upon alms. The Vallabha-Swami sect performs its devotions arrayed in costly apparel, anointed with oil, and perfumed with camphor or sandalwood. It seeks its converts not among weavers, or leather-dressers, or barbers, but among wealthy bankers and merchants, who look

700-1500

upon life as a thing to be enjoyed, and upon pilgrimage as a holiday excursion, or an opportunity for trade.

The worship of Siva and Vishnu acts as a religious bond among the Hindus, in the same way as caste supplies the basis of their social organization. Theoretically, the Hindu religion starts from the Veda, and acknowledges its divine authority. Practically, we have seen that Hinduism takes its origin from many sources. Vishnu-worship and Sivaite rites represent the two most popular combinations of these various elements. The highly cultivated Brahman is a pure theist; the less cultivated worships the Divinity under some chosen form, his ishta-devata. The ordinary Brahman, especially in the south, takes as his "chosen deity" Siva in his deep philosophical aspects as the fountain of being and of reproduction, the symbol of death deprived of its terrors and welcomed as the entrance into new forms of life. The phallic linga serves him as an emblem of the unseen God. The middle classes and the trading community adore some incarnation of Vishnu. The low-castes propitiate Siva the Destroyer, or one of his female manifestations, such as the dread Kali. Almost every Hindu of education feels that his outward object of homage is merely his ishta-devata, or a "chosen" form under which to adore the supreme deity, Param-eswara.

The teachings of religious reformers and the development of new sects did not cease entirely with Chaitanya and Vallabha-Swami. Perhaps the most interesting of these newer sects is the Brahma Samaj, which owes its origin to Raja Ram Mohan Rai (1772-1835), whose teachings were purely monotheistic and spiritual. He discarded all external symbols and ceremonies and supplemented the spiritual adoration of the deity with a practical system of morality requiring a life conformable to the divine will. The avowed followers of this sect are few in number and are confined chiefly to Calcutta, but they command the sympathy of many of the educated natives of Bengal.³

³ See P. C. Mozoomdar, "The Faith and Progress of the Brahma-Somaj," Calcutta, 1882, and S. D. Collet, "Brahmo Year Book," London, 1876, ff.

Chapter IX

EARLY MOHAMMEDAN CONQUERORS. 714-1526

HINDUISM was for a time submerged, but never drowned, by the tide of Mohammedan conquest, which set steadily toward India about 1000 A. D. At the present day, the south of India remains almost entirely Hindu, and by far the greater number of the Indian feudatory chiefs are still under Brahman influence, but in the northwest, where the first waves of invasion have always broken, about one-third of the population now profess Islam. The upper valley of the Ganges boasts a succession of Mussulman capitals; and in the swamps of Lower Bengal, the bulk of the non-Aryan or aboriginal population have become converts to the Mohammedan religion. The Mussulmans now make 62,000,000 of the total of 294,000,000 in India.

While Buddhism was giving place to Hinduism in India, a new faith had arisen in Arabia. Mohammed, born in 570 A. D., created a conquering religion, and died in 632. Within a hundred years after his death, his followers had invaded the countries of Asia as far as the Hindu Kush. Here their progress was stayed; and Islam had to consolidate itself, during three more centuries, before it grew strong enough to grasp the rich prize of India. Almost from the first the Arabs had fixed eager eyes upon that wealthy empire, and several premature inroads foretold the coming storm.

About fifteen years after the death of the Prophet, during the reign of the Khalif Usman, a naval expedition visited Thana and Broach on the Bombay coast. Other raids toward Sind took place in 662 and 664, with no lasting results. In 711, however, the youthful Kasim advanced into Sind, to claim damages for an Arab ship which had been seized at an Indian port. After a brilliant campaign he settled himself in the Indus Valley; but the farther advance of the Mussulmans depended on the personal daring of their leader, and was arrested by his death in 714. The despairing valor of the Hindus struck the invaders with wonder.

714-828

One Rajput garrison preferred utter extermination to submission. They raised a huge funeral pile, upon which the women and children first threw themselves. The men having bathed, took a solemn farewell of each other, and, throwing open the gates, rushed upon the weapons of the besiegers, and perished to a man. In 750, the Rajputs are said to have expelled the Mohammedan governor from Sind; but it was not till 828 that the Hindus regained possession of that province.

The armies of Islam had carried the crescent throughout Asia west of the Hindu Kush, and through Africa and southern Europe, to distant Spain and France, before they obtained a foothold in the Punjab. This long delay was due not only to the daring of the Indian tribes, such as the Sind Rajputs just mentioned, but to the military organization of the Hindu kingdoms. To the north of the Vindhya, three separate groups of Hindu princes governed the great river-valleys. The Rajputs ruled in the northwest, throughout the Indus plains, and along the upper waters of the Jumna. The ancient Middle Land of Sanskrit times (*Madhyadesa*) in the valley of the Ganges, was divided among powerful Hindu kingdoms, with their suzerain at Kanauj. The lower Gangetic valley, from Behar downward, was still in part governed by Pal or Buddhist dynasties, whose names are found from Benares to jungle-buried hamlets deep in the Bengal delta. The Vindhya ranges stretched their wall of forest and mountain between the northern and southern halves of India. Their eastern and central regions were peopled by fierce hill tribes. At their western extremity, toward the Bombay coast, lay the Hindu kingdom of Malwa, with its brilliant literary traditions of Vikramaditya, and a vast feudal array of fighting men. India to the south of the Vindhya was occupied by a number of warlike princes, chiefly of non-Aryan descent, but loosely grouped under three great semi-Hindu or semi-Buddhistic overlords represented by the Chera, Chola, and Pandya dynasties.

Each of these groups of kingdoms, alike in the north and in the south, had a certain power of coherence to oppose to a foreign invader; while the large number of the groups and units rendered conquest a very tedious process. Even when the overlord or central authority was vanquished, the separate groups and units had to be defeated in detail; and each supplied a nucleus for subsequent revolt. We have seen how the brilliant attempt in 711, to

found a lasting Mohammedan dynasty in Sind, failed. Three centuries later, the utmost efforts of a series of Mussulman invaders from the northwest only succeeded in annexing a small portion of the frontier Punjab provinces, between 977 and 1176. The Hindu power in southern India was not completely broken till the battle of Talikot in 1565; and within a hundred years, in 1650, the great Hindu revival had commenced, which, under the form of the Maratha confederacy, was destined to break up the empire in India. That empire, even in the north of India, was only consolidated by Akbar's policy of incorporating Hindu chiefs and statesmen into his government (1556-1605). Up to Akbar's time, and during the earlier years of his reign, a series of Hindu or Rajput wars had challenged the Mohammedan supremacy. In less than two centuries after his death, the Mogul successor of Akbar was a puppet and a prisoner in the hands of the Hindu Marathas at Delhi.

The popular notion that India fell an easy prey to the Mussulmans is opposed to the historical facts. Mohammedan rule in India consisted of a series of invasions and partial conquests, during eleven centuries, from the Arab raid about 647 to Ahmad Shah's tempest of devastation in 1761. They represent in Indian history the overflow of the tribes and peoples of central Asia to the southeast; as the Huns, Turks, and various Tatar tribes disclose in early European annals the westward movements from the same great breeding-ground of nations. At no time was Islam triumphant throughout all India. Hindu dynasties always ruled over a large area. At the height of the Mohammedan power the Hindu princes paid tribute, and sent agents to the imperial court, but even this modified supremacy of the Mogul empire of Delhi lasted less than a century and a half (1560-1707). Before the end of that brief period, the Hindus had again begun the work of reconquest. The Hindu chivalry of Rajputana was closing in upon Delhi from the southeast; the religious confederation of the Sikhs was growing into a military power on the northwest. The Marathas, who combined the fighting powers of the Hindu low-castes with the statesmanship of the Brahmans, had begun to subject the Mohammedan kingdoms in southern India to tribute. So far as can now be estimated, the advance of the English power in the eighteenth century alone saved the Mogul empire from reverting to the Hindus.

977-1001

The first collision between Hinduism and Islam on the Punjab frontier was the act of the Hindus. In 977 Jaipal, the Hindu chief of Lahore, annoyed by Afghan raids, led his troops through the mountains against the Mohammedan kingdom of the Ghaznivides, in Afghanistan, who were of Turkish origin. Subuktigin, the Ghaznvide prince, after severe fighting, took advantage of a hurricane to cut off the retreat of the Hindus through the pass. He allowed them, however, to return to India, on the surrender of fifty elephants, and the promise of one million dirhams. This is the Persian spelling, and like its Arabic equivalent, derham, is derived from the Greek drachma. It is a silver coin weighing about 43.7 grains troy and therefore worth a little more than the United States dime, which contains 38.5 grains. The sum therefore, would amount to over \$100,000, but owing to the difference in the purchasing power, a somewhat larger sum would represent the relative value.

Tradition relates how Jaipal, having regained his capital, was counseled by the Brahmans standing at his right hand not to disgrace himself by paying ransom to a barbarian; while his nobles and warrior chiefs, standing at his left, implored him to keep faith. In the end, Subuktigin swept through the hills to enforce his ransom, defeated Jaipal, and stationed an Afghan officer with 10,000 horse to garrison Peshawar (977). Subuktigin was soon afterward called away to fight in central Asia, and his Indian raid left behind it only this Peshawar outpost, but henceforth the Afghans held both ends of the Khaibar Pass.

In 997 Subuktigin died, and was succeeded by his son, Mahmud of Ghazni, aged sixteen. This valiant monarch reigned for thirty-three years, and extended his father's little Afghan kingdom into a great sovereignty stretching from Persia on the west to far within the Punjab on the east. Having spent four years in consolidating his power in Afghanistan to the west of the Khaibar Pass, Mahmud led in 1001 the first of his seventeen invasions of India. Of these, thirteen were directed to the subjugation of the western Punjab, one was an unsuccessful incursion into Kashmir, and the remaining three were short but furious raids against more distant cities,—Kanauj, Gwalior, and Somnath. Jaipal, the Hindu frontier chief of Lahore, was again defeated. According to Hindu custom, a twice-conquered prince was deemed unworthy to reign; and Jaipal, mounting a funeral pile, solemnly made over his king-

dom to his son, and burned himself in his regal robes. Another local chief, rather than yield himself to the victor, fell upon his own sword. In the sixth expedition (1008), the Hindu ladies melted their ornaments, while the poorer women spun cotton, to support their husbands in the war. In one great battle the fate of the invaders hung in the balance. Mahmud, alarmed by a coalition of the Indian kings as far as Oudh and Malwa, intrenched himself near Peshawar. A sortie which he made was driven back, and the wild Ghakkar tribe burst into the camp and slaughtered nearly 4000 Mussulmans, when an accident in the Hindu army started a panic and altered the fortunes of the day. Mahmud completely routed the Hindus and captured the valuable fortress of Nagarkot.

Each expedition, however, ended by further strengthening the Mohammedan foothold in India. Mahmud carried away enormous booty from the Hindu temples, such as Thaneswar and Nagarkot; and his sixteenth and most famous expedition was directed against the temple of Somnath in Gujarat. There is some uncertainty about the chronology of Mahmud's reign and some authorities put the plunder of Somnath in 1024 and others in 1025-1026. After bloody repulses, he took the town. The Hindu garrison, at the end of their gallant defense, left 500 of their warriors dead, and put out in boats to sea. The famous idol of Somnath was merely one of the twelve renowned lingas of Siva-worship erected in various parts of India. Mahmud, having taken the name of the "Idol-Smasher," the modern Persian historians gradually converted the plunder of Somnath into a legend of his pious zeal. Forgetting the contemporary accounts of the idol as a rude block of stone, Firishta tells how Mahmud, on entering the temple, was offered an enormous ransom by the priests if he would spare the image. Mahmud cried out that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and clove the god open with his mace. Forthwith a vast treasure of jewels poured forth from its vitals, which explained the liberal offers of the priests, and rewarded the disinterested piety of the monarch. The growth of this fable can be clearly traced, but it is still repeated. Mahmud carried off the temple gates, with fragments of the lingas, to Ghazni, and on the way nearly perished with his army in the Indus desert; the so-called "sandalwood gates of Somnath," brought back as a trophy from Ghazni by Lord Ellenborough in 1842, and paraded through northern India, were as clumsy a forgery as the story

1026-1030

of the jewel-bellied idol himself. Mahmud died at Ghazni in 1030.

As the result of seventeen invasions of India, and of twenty-five years' fighting, Mahmud had reduced the western districts of the Punjab to the control of his Afghan kingdom of Ghazni, and left the remembrance of his raids throughout northern India as far as Kanauj on the east and Gujarat in the south. He never set up as a resident sovereign in India. His expeditions beyond the Punjab were the adventures of a religious knight-errant, with the plunder of a temple-city, or the demolition of an idol, as their object, rather than serious efforts at conquest. As his father Subuktigin had left Peshawar as an outpost garrison of Ghazni, so Mahmud left the Punjab as an outlying province of that Afghan kingdom.

The Mohammedan chroniclers tell many stories, not only of his valor and piety, but also of his thrift. One day a poor woman complained that her son had been killed by robbers in a distant desert of Irak. Mahmud said he was very sorry, but that it was difficult to prevent such accidents so far from the capital. The old woman rebuked him with the words, "Keep no more territory than you can rightly govern"; and the sultan forthwith rewarded her, and sent troops to guard all caravans passing that way. Mahmud was an enlightened patron of poets, and his liberality drew to his court the great Ferdousi, or Firdausi, that is the Paradisiac, the name popularly given to Abul Kasim Mansur, who died at Tus in Khurasan in 1020.

The sultan listened with delight to his Shah-namah, or Book of Kings, and promised him a dirham, meaning a golden one, for each verse on its completion. After thirty years of labor, the poet claimed his reward. But the sultan, finding that the poem had run to 60,000 verses, offered him 60,000 silver dirhams, instead of dirhams of gold. Ferdousi retired in disgust from the court, and wrote a bitter satire, which to this day tells the story of the alleged base birth of the monarch. Mahmud forgave the satire, but remembered the great epic, and, repenting of his meanness, sent 100,000 golden dirhams to the poet. The bounty came too late; for, according to the legend, as the royal messengers bearing the bags of gold entered one gate of Ferdousi's city, the poet's corpse was being borne out by another. The sum originally given him would have amounted to more than \$6000, which may be com-

pared with the ten pounds or \$50 which Milton received for "Paradise Lost." There are various editions of the Shah-namah, and French and German translations, but no complete English translation.

During a century and a half the Punjab remained under Mahmud's successors as an Afghan Mussulman province in India. There had long been a feud between the Afghan towns of Ghor and Ghazni. Mahmud subdued Ghor in 1010; but about 1051 the Ghor chief captured Ghazni and dragged its principal men to his own capital, where he cut their throats, and used their blood in making mortar for the fortifications. After various reprisals, Ghor finally triumphed over Ghazni in 1152; and Khusru, the last of Mahmud's line, fled to Lahore, the capital of his outlying Indian territory. In 1186 this also was wrested from him by the Ghor prince, Shahab-ud-din, or Muiz-ud-din, better known as Mohammed of Ghor, who had begun the conquest of India on his own account eleven years before. Each of the Hindu principalities fought hard, and some of them still survive, more than seven centuries after the torrent of Afghan invasion swept over their heads.

On his first expedition toward Delhi in 1191, Mohammed of Ghor was utterly defeated by the Hindus at Thaneswar in the Punjab, badly wounded, and barely escaped with his life. His scattered hosts were chased for forty miles, but he gathered together the wreck of his army at Lahore, and, aided by new hordes from Afghanistan, again marched into Hindustan in 1193. Family quarrels among the Rajputs prevented a united effort against him. The cities of Delhi and Kanauj stand forth as the centers of rival Hindu monarchies, each of which claimed the first place in northern India. A Chauhan Rajput prince, ruling over Delhi and Ajmere, bore the proud name of Prithwi Raja or suzerain. The Rahtor Rajput king of Kanauj, whose capital can still be traced across eight square miles of broken bricks and rubbish in Farukhabad district, celebrated a feast, in the spirit of the ancient Hindu horse sacrifice, to proclaim himself the overlord. At such a feast all menial offices had to be filled by royal vassals; and the Delhi monarch was summoned as a gatekeeper, along with the other princes of Hindustan. During the ceremony, the daughter of the king of Kanauj was to make her swayam-vara, as in the Sanskrit epics. The Delhi raja loved the maiden, but he could not brook to stand at another man's gate. As he did not arrive, the Kanauj

1191-1203

king set up a mocking image of him at the door. When the princess entered the hall to make her choice, she looked calmly round the circle of kings, then, stepping proudly past them to the door, threw her bridal garland over the neck of the ill-shapen image. Forthwith, says the story, the Delhi monarch rushed in, sprang with the princess on his horse, and galloped off toward his northern capital. The outraged father led out his Kanauj army against the runaways, and, having, according to the legend, called in the Afghans to attack Delhi on the other side from the west, brought about the ruin of both the Hindu kingdoms of Delhi and Kanauj.

The tale serves to record the disputes among the Rajput princes, which prevented a united resistance to Mohammed of Ghor. Mohammed found Delhi occupied by the Tomara clan, Ajmere by the Chauhans, and Kanauj by the Rahtors. These three Rajput states formed the natural breakwaters against invaders from the northwest, but their feuds are said to have left the kingdom of Delhi and Ajmere, then united under one Chauhan overlord, only 64 survivors out of 108 warrior chiefs. In 1193 the Afghans again swept down on the Punjab. Prithwi Raja of Delhi and Ajmere was defeated and slain. His heroic queen burned herself on his funeral pile. Mohammed of Ghor, having occupied Delhi, pressed on to Ajmere, and in 1194 overthrew the rival Hindu monarch of Kanauj, whose body was identified on the field of battle by his false teeth. The brave Rahtor Rajputs of Kanauj, with others of the Rajput clans in northern India, quitted their homes in large bodies rather than submit to the stranger. They migrated to the regions bordering on the desert of the Indus, and there founded the military kingdoms which bear their name, Rajputana, to this day. History takes her narrative of these events from the matter-of-fact statements of the Persian annalists, but the Hindu court-bard of Prithwi Raja left behind a patriotic version of the fall of his race. His ballad-chronicle, known as the "Prithwiraj Rasau of Chand," is one of the earliest poems in Hindi. It depicts the Mussulman invaders as beaten in all the battles except the last fatal one. Their leader is taken prisoner by the Hindus, and released for a heavy ransom, but the quarrels of the chiefs ruined the Hindu cause.

Setting aside these patriotic songs, Benares and Gwalior mark the southwestern limits of Mohammed of Ghor's own advance, but his general, Bakhtiyar Khilji, conquered Behar in 1199, and Lower

Bengal down to the delta in 1203. On the approach of the Muslims, the Brahmans advised Lakshman Sen, the Hindu king of Bengal, to remove his capital from Nadiya to some more distant city, but the prince, a religious old man of eighty, could not make up his mind, until the Afghan general had seized his capital, and burst into the palace one day while his majesty was at dinner. The monarch slipped out by a back door without having time to put on his shoes, and fled to Puri in Orissa, where he spent his remaining days in the service of the god Jagannath. Meanwhile the sultan, Mohammed of Ghor, divided his time between campaigns in Afghanistan and Indian invasions. Ghor was his capital, and he had little time to consolidate his Indian conquests. Even in the Punjab, the tribes were defeated rather than subdued. In 1203 the Ghakkars issued from their mountains, took Lahore, and devastated the whole province. In 1206 a party of the same clan swam the Indus, on the bank of which the Afghan camp was pitched, and stabbed the sultan while asleep in his tent.

Mohammed of Ghor was no religious knight-errant of Islam like Mahmud of Ghazni, but a practical conqueror. The objects of his distant expeditions were not temples, but provinces. Subuktigin had left Peshawar as an outpost of Ghazni in 977; and Mahmud had reduced the western Punjab to an outlying province of the same kingdom in 1030. That was the net result of the Turki invasions of India from Ghazni (977-1186). Mohammed of Ghor left the whole north of India, from the delta of the Indus to the delta of the Ganges, under skillful Mohammedan generals, who on his death in 1206 set up as kings on their own account.

His Indian viceroy, Kutab-ud-din, proclaimed himself sovereign of India at Delhi, and founded a line which lasted from 1206 to 1290. Kutab claimed the control over all the Mohammedan leaders and soldiers of fortune in India from Sind to Lower Bengal. His name is preserved at his capital by the Kutab Mosque, with its graceful colonnade of richly-sculptured Hindu pillars, and by the Kutab Minar, which raises its tapering shaft, incrusting with chapters from the Koran, high above the ruins of old Hindu Delhi. It is 238 feet high and is said by Stanley Lane-Poole to be the highest minaret in the world. It was somewhat damaged by an earthquake in 1803. Kutab-ud-din had started life as a Turki slave, and several of his successors rose by valor or intrigue from the same low condition to the throne. His dynasty is accordingly

1210-1288

known as that of the Slave Kings. Under them India became for the first time the seat of resident Mohammedan sovereigns. In 1210 Kutab-ud-din died.

The Slave dynasty found itself face to face with the three dangers which have beset the Mohammedan rule in India from the outset, and beneath which that rule eventually succumbed. First, rebellions by its own servants—Mussulman generals, or viceroys of provinces; second, revolts of the Hindus; third, fresh invasions, chiefly by Moguls, from central Asia.

Altamsh, the third and greatest sultan of the Slave dynasty, had to reduce the Mohammedan governors of Lower Bengal and Sind, both of whom set up as independent rulers; and he narrowly escaped destruction by a Mogul invasion from central Asia. The Moguls under Genghis Khan pierced through the Indian passes in pursuit of an Afghan prince, in 1221; but their progress was stayed by the Indus, and Delhi remained untouched. Before the death of Altamsh the Hindus had ceased for a time to struggle openly; and the Mohammedan viceroys of the Slave dynasty of Delhi ruled all India north of the Vindhya Range, including the Punjab, the North-western Provinces, Oudh, Behar, Lower Bengal, Ajmere, Gwalior, Malwa, and Sind. The kalif of Bagdad acknowledged India as a separate Mohammedan kingdom during the reign of Altamsh, and in 1229 coins were struck in recognition of the new empire of Delhi. Altamsh died in 1236.

His daughter Raziya was the only woman who ever occupied the Mohammedan throne of Delhi. Learned in the Koran, industrious in public business, firm and energetic in every crisis, she bears in history the masculine name of the Sultan Raziya. The favor which she showed to her master of the horse, an Abyssinian slave, offended her Afghan generals; and, after a troubled reign of three and a half years, she was deposed and put to death in 1240.

Mogul irruptions from central Asia and Hindu revolts within India soon began to undermine the Slave dynasty. The Moguls are said to have burst through Tibet into northeastern Bengal in 1245; and during the next forty-three years they repeatedly marched down the Afghan passes into the Punjab (1245-1288). The wild Indian tribes, such as the Ghakkars and the hillmen of Mewat, ravaged the Mohammedan provinces in the Punjab almost up to the gates of Delhi. Rajput revolts foreshadowed that inextinguishable vitality of the Hindu military races, which was to

harass, from first to last, the Mohammedan dynasties, and to outlive them. Under the Slave Kings, even the north of India was only half subdued to the Mohammedan sway. The Hindus rose again and again in Malwa, Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and along the Ganges and the Jumna, as far as Delhi itself.

The last but one of the Slave line, Balban, had not only to fight the Moguls, the wild Indian tribes, and the Rajput clans—he was also compelled to battle with his own viceroys. Having in his youth entered into a compact for mutual support and advancement with forty of his Turki fellow-slaves in the palace, he had, when he came into power, to break the strong confederacy thus formed. After serving ably for twenty years as the chief minister for one of the sons and successors of Altamsh, the brilliant slave and successful minister followed his master on the throne in 1265, and continued his efforts to defend the kingdom against the foreign invader and to suppress domestic intrigue and insurrection. Some of his provincial governors he publicly scourged; others were beaten to death in his presence; and a general who failed to reduce the rebel Mohammedan viceroy of Bengal was hanged. Balban himself moved down to the Gangetic delta, and crushed the Bengal revolt with merciless skill. His severity against Hindu rebels knew no bounds. He nearly exterminated the Rajputs of Mewat, south of Delhi, putting 100,000 of them to the sword. He then cut down the forests which formed their retreats, and opened up the country to tillage. The miseries caused by the Mogul hordes at that time in central Asia drove a crowd of princes and poets from Afghanistan and other Mohammedan countries to seek shelter at the Indian court. Balban boasted that no fewer than fifteen once independent sovereigns had fed on his bounty, and he called the streets of Delhi by the names of their late kingdoms, such as Bagdad, Khwarezm, and Ghor. He died in 1287. His grandson and successor was murdered, and in 1290 the Slave dynasty ended.

In that year, Jalal-ud-din, a Khilji leader, succeeded to the Delhi throne, and founded a line which lasted for thirty years. The clan of Khiljis derived their name from the town of Khilj in Afghanistan, and though possibly of Turkish origin they had become thoroughly Afghan in character and hostile to the Turks, who had supplied most of the kings of the Slave dynasty. The Khilji dynasty extended the Mohammedan power into southern

1290-1305

India. Ala-ud-din, the nephew of Jalal-ud-din, when governor of Karra near Allahabad, pierced through the Vindhya ranges with his cavalry, and plundered the Buddhist temple-city of Bhilsa, 300 miles off. After trying his powers against the rebellious Hindu princes of Bundelkhand and Malwa, Ala-ud-din formed the idea of a grand raid into the Deccan. With a band of only 8000 horse, he rode into the heart of southern India. On the way he gave out that he was flying from his uncle Jalal-ud-din's court, to seek service with the Hindu king of Rajamahendri. The generous Rajput princes abstained from attacking a refugee in his flight; and Ala-ud-din surprised the great city of Deogiri, the modern Daulatabad, at that time the capital of the Hindu kingdom of Maharashtra. Having suddenly galloped into its streets, he announced himself as only the advance guard of the whole imperial army, levied an immense booty, and carried it back 700 miles to the seat of his governorship on the banks of the Ganges. He then lured the Sultan Jalal-ud-din, his uncle, to Karra, in order to divide the spoil, and murdered the old man in the act of clasping his hand (1296).

Ala-ud-din scattered his spoils in gifts or charity like a devout Mussulman, and proclaimed himself sultan. The twenty years of his reign established the Mohammedan sway in southern India. He reconquered Gujarat from the Hindus in 1297; captured Rintimbur, after a difficult siege, from the Jaipur Rajputs in 1300; took the fort of Chitor, and partially subjected the Sesodia Rajputs (1303); and, having thus reduced the Hindus on the north of the Vindhya, prepared for the conquest of southern India or the Deccan. Before starting on this great expedition he had to meet five Mogul inroads from central Asia. In 1295 he defeated a Mogul invasion under the walls of his capital, Delhi; in 1304-1305 he encountered four others, sending all his prisoners to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled by elephants, and the common soldiery slaughtered in cold blood. He crushed with equal cruelty several rebellions which took place among his own family during the same period, first putting out the eyes of his insurgent nephews, and then beheading them (1299-1300).

The tyrannical character of Ala-ud-din was shown not only in ferocity and bloodshed, but also in the despotic measures of his administration. The Hindus were crushed by a merciless system of taxation under which Mohammedans fared but little better. Draconian laws were enforced against intemperance. Prices of

foodstuffs and of all articles of common use were fixed by royal edict and rigidly enforced. A thorough system of espionage terrorized the people. These measures were all intended to assure the security of the kingdom, whose fortifications he repaired and extended and whose army he increased and reorganized.

His affairs in northern India being thus settled, he undertook the conquest of the south. In 1303 he had sent his eunuch slave, Malik Kafur, with an army, through Bengal, to attack Warangal, the capital of the southeastern Hindu kingdom of Telingana. In 1306 Kafur marched victoriously through Malwa and Khandesh into the Maratha country, where he captured Deogiri, and persuaded the Hindu king Ram to return with him to do homage at Delhi. Meanwhile the Sultan Ala-ud-din was conquering the Rajputs in Marwar. His slave general, Kafur, made expeditions through Maharashtra and the Karnatik, as far south as Adam's Bridge, at the extremity of India, where he built a mosque. There is some difficulty in the identification of the names of the places mentioned in this expedition and the location of Kafur's mosque is not settled beyond question.

The Mohammedan sultan of India was no longer merely an Afghan king of Delhi. Three great waves of invasion from central Asia had created a large Mohammedan population in northern India. First had come the Turkis, represented by the House of Ghazni; then the Afghans, commonly so called, represented by the House of Ghor; next the Moguls, having failed to conquer the Punjab, had taken service in great numbers with the sultans of Delhi. Under the Slave Kings the Mogul mercenaries had become so powerful as to require to be massacred (1286). About 1292 three thousand Moguls, having been converted from their old Tatar rites to Islam, had received a suburb of Delhi for their residence. Other Moguls followed. After various plots by them, Ala-ud-din slaughtered 15,000 of the settlers, and sold their families as slaves (1311).

The unlimited supply of soldiers which this ruler could draw upon from the Turki, Afghan, and Mogul settlers in northern India and from countries beyond, enabled him to send armies farther south than any of his predecessors. In his later years the Hindus revolted in Gujarat; the Rajputs reconquered Chitor; and many of the Mohammedan garrisons were driven out of the Deccan. On the capture of Chitor in 1303, the Rajput garrison had pre-

1311-1330

ferred death to submission. The peasantry still chant an early Hindi ballad, telling how the queen and thirteen thousand women threw themselves on a funeral pile, while the men rushed upon the swords of the besiegers. A remnant cut their way to the Aravalli Hills; and the Rajput independence, although in abeyance during Ala-ud-din's reign, was never crushed. Having imprisoned his sons and given himself up to paroxysms of rage, Ala-ud-din died in 1316, helped to the grave, it is said, by poison given by his favorite general, Kafur.

During the four remaining years of the House of Khilji, the actual power passed to Khusru Khan, a renegade low-caste Hindu, who imitated the military successes and vices of his patron, the General Kafur, and in the end murdered him. Khusru became all in all to the new emperor, the debauchee Mubarik; then slew him, and seized the throne. While outwardly professing Islam, Khusru desecrated the Koran by using it as a seat, and degraded the pulpits of the mosques into pedestals for Hindu idols. In 1321, after a few months' reign, he was slain by his revolted soldiery, and the Khilji dynasty disappeared.

The leader of the rebellion was Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, who had started life as a Turki slave, and risen to the frontier governorship of the Punjab. He founded the Tughlak dynasty, which lingered on for ninety-six years, although submerged for a time by the invasion of Timur in 1398. Ghiyas-ud-din removed the capital from Delhi to a spot about four miles farther east, and called it Tughlakabad.

His son and successor, Mohammed Tughlak, was an accomplished scholar, a skillful general, and a man of severe abstinence, but his ferocity of temper, perhaps inherited from the tribes of the steppes of central Asia, rendered him merciless as a judge, and careless of human suffering. The least opposition drove him into outbursts of insane fury. He wasted the treasures accumulated by Ala-ud-din in buying off the Mogul hordes, who again and again swept through Afghanistan into the Punjab. On the other hand, in fits of ambition, he raised an army for the invasion of Persia, and is said to have sent out an expedition of 100,000 men against China. The force against Persia broke up for want of pay, and plundered his own dominions; the army against China perished almost to a man in the Himalayan passes. He planned great conquests in southern India, and dragged the whole population of

Delhi 800 miles off in the far south to Deogiri, to which he gave the name of Daulatabad. Twice he allowed the miserable suppliants to return to Delhi; twice he compelled them on pain of death to quit it. One of these forced migrations took place amid the horrors of a famine; the citizens perished by thousands, and in the end the king had to give up the attempt. Having drained his treasury, he issued a forced currency of copper coins, by which he tried to make the king's brass equal to other men's silver. During the same century, the Mogul conqueror of China, Kublai Khan, had extended the use of paper notes, early devised by the Chinese; and Kai Khatu had introduced a bad imitation of them into Persia. Mohammed Tughlak's scheme was not without some basis in sound economics, but the forced currency quickly brought its own ruin. Foreign merchants refused the worthless money, trade came to a stand, and the king had to take payment of his taxes in his own depreciated coinage. On this failure he redeemed the tokens in gold and silver.

Meanwhile the provinces began to throw off the Delhi yoke. Mohammed Tughlak had succeeded in 1325 to the greatest empire which had, up to that time, acknowledged a Mohammedan sultan in India. His bigoted zeal for Islam forbade him to confide in Hindu princes or Hindu officers; he dared not trust his own kinsmen; and he thus found himself compelled to fill every high post with foreign Mohammedan adventurers, who had no interest in the stability of his rule. The annals of the period present a long series of outbreaks, one part of the empire throwing off its allegiance as soon as another had been brought back to subjection. His own nephew rebelled in Malwa, and, being caught, was flayed alive (1338). The Punjab governor revolted in 1339, was crushed, and put to death. The Mussulman viceroys of Lower Bengal and of the Coromandel coast set up for themselves, about 1340, and could not be subdued. The Hindu kingdoms of Karnata and Telingana recovered their independence in 1344, and expelled the Mussulman garrisons. The Mohammedan governors in the Deccan also revolted, while the troops in Gujarat rose in mutiny. Mohammed Tughlak rushed with an army to the south to take vengeance on the traitors, but hardly had he put down their rising than he was called away by insurrections in Gujarat, Malwa, and Sind. He died in 1351, while chasing rebels in the lower valley of the Indus.

Mohammed Tughlak was the first Mussulman ruler of India

1351-1375

who can be said to have had a regular revenue system. He increased the land tax between the Ganges and the Jumna—in some districts tenfold, in others twenty-fold. The husbandmen fled before his tax-gatherers, leaving their villages to lapse into jungle, and formed themselves into robber clans. He cruelly punished all who trespassed on his game preserves, and he is reputed to have invented a kind of man-hunt which is without precedent in the annals of human wickedness. He surrounded a large tract with his army, “and then gave orders that the circle should close toward the center, and that all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants) should be slaughtered like wild beasts.” This sort of hunt was more than once repeated; and on another occasion there was a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Kanauj. Such horrors led in due time to famine, and the miseries of the country exceeded all powers of description. The orientalist, Stanley Lane-Poole,¹ takes a much more favorable view of this ruler. He quotes from Ibn-Batuta: “This king is of all men the one who loves to dispense gifts and to shed blood. His gateway is never free from a beggar whom he has relieved and a corpse which he has slain.” His character reminds the student of eighteenth century European history of Joseph II. of Austria, in his generous and benevolent schemes; of Robespierre in his devotion to theory and his endeavor to establish a reign of virtue by massacring the vicious; and of Carrier of Nantes in his insane thirst for blood. As a versatile and erratic genius he offers many points of resemblance to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II.

His cousin, Firuz Shah Tughlak, succeeded him. During the first twenty years of his reign, Firuz Shah intrusted the cares of state almost entirely to his able prime minister, Makbul Khan, an official of Hindu race who had risen to high rank under Mohammed Tughlak. The mother of Firuz Shah himself was a Hindu and this combination of Hindu and Mohammedan antecedents undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of this monarch and to the peaceful prosperity of his rule. Firuz Shah, though not a strong man, deserves in many respects the same credit as do the benevolent despots of eighteenth century Europe, with some of whom he might well be compared. He ruled mercifully, but had to recognize the independence of the Mohammedan kingdoms of Bengal and in the Deccan, and suffered much from bodily infirmities and court intrigues. He undertook many public works, such as

¹ Lane-Poole, “Mediæval India.”

dams across rivers for irrigation, tanks, caravansaries, mosques, colleges, hospitals, and bridges, but his greatest achievement was the old Jumna canal. This canal drew its waters from the Jumna near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected that river with the Ghaggar and the Sutlej by irrigation channels. Part of it has been reconstructed by the British government, and spreads a margin of fertility on either side at this day. But the dynasty of Tughlak soon sank amid Mohammedan mutinies and Hindu revolts; and under Mahmud, its last real king, India fell an easy prey to the great Mogul invasion of 1398.

In that year, Timur—Timur-i-Leng, that is, Timur the lame, corrupted into Tamerlane—swept through the Afghan passes at the head of the united Tatar hordes. He defeated the Tughlak king, Mahmud, under the walls of Delhi, and entered the capital. During five days a massacre raged; “some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead,” while Timur calmly looked on and held a feast in honor of his victory. On the last day of 1398 he resumed his march, first offering a “sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise” to God, in Firuz Shah’s marble mosque on the banks of the Jumna. Timur then crossed the Ganges, and, after a great massacre at Meerut, proceeded as far as Hardwar. There skirting the foot of the Himalayas, he retired westward into central Asia (1399). Timur left no traces of his power in India, save desolate cities. On his departure Mahmud Tughlak crept back from his retreat in Gujarat, and nominally ruled till 1412.

The Tughlak line finally ended in 1414. The Sayyid dynasty ruled from 1414 till 1451, and the Afghan House of Lodi from 1451 to 1526. Some of these sultans reigned over only a few miles round Delhi, and during the whole period the Hindu princes and the local Mohammedan kings were practically independent throughout the greater part of India. The House of Lodi was crushed beneath the Mogul invasion of Babar in 1526.

Babar founded the Mogul empire in India, whose last representative died a British state prisoner at Rangoon in 1862. Before entering on the story of that empire, it will be well to notice the kingdoms, Hindu and Mohammedan, on the south of the Vindhya range. The three ancient kingdoms, Chera, Chola, and Pandya, occupied the Dravidian country of southern India, peopled by Tamil-speaking races. Pandya, the largest of them, had its capital at Madura, and traces its foundation to the fourth century B. C. The

1118-1526

Chola kingdom had its headquarters at Combaconum and Tanjore. Talkad, in Mysore, now buried by the sands of the Kaveri, was the capital of the Chera kingdom from 288 to 900 A. D. The 116th king of the Madura or Pandya dynasty was overthrown by the Mohammedan general, Malik Kafur, in 1304, but the Mussulmans failed to establish their power in the extreme south, and a series of Hindu dynasties continued to rule from Madura over the old Pandya kingdom until the eighteenth century. No European kingdom can boast a continuous succession such as that of Pandya or Madura, traced back by the piety of genealogists for more than two thousand years. The Chera or Mysore and Travancore kingdom enumerates fifty kings, and the Chola or Tanjore kingdom sixty-six, besides minor offshoot dynasties.

Authentic history in southern India begins with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar or Narsingha, from 1118 to 1565. The capital can still be traced within the Madras district of Bellary, on the right bank of the Tungabhadra River—vast ruins of temples, fortifications, tanks, and bridges, haunted by hyenas and snakes. For at least three centuries, Vijayanagar ruled over the southern part of the Indian peninsula. Its Hindu rajas waged war and made peace on equal terms with the Mohammedan sultans of the Deccan.

The Mohammedan kingdoms of southern India sprang out of the conquest of Ala-ud-din in 1303 to 1306. After a period of confused fighting, the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan emerged as the representative of Mohammedan rule in southern India. Zafar Khan, an Afghan general during the reign of Mohammed Tughlak, defeated the Delhi troops, and became Mussulman sovereign of the Deccan. Having in early youth been the slave of a Brahman, who had treated him kindly, and foretold his future greatness, he took the title of Bahmani, and transmitted it to his successors.

The rise of the Bahmani dynasty is usually assigned to the year 1347, and it lasted for 178 years, or until 1525. Its capitals were successively at Kulbarga and Bidar, both in the modern Haiderabad territories; and it loosely corresponded with the nizam's dominions of the present day. At the height of their power, the Mohammedan Bahmani kings claimed sway over half the Deccan, from the Tungabhadra River in the south to Orissa in the north, and from Masulipatam on the east to Goa on the west. Their direct government was, however, much more confined. They derived support, in their early struggle against the Delhi throne, from the

Hindu southern kingdoms of Vijayanagar and Warangal, but during the greater part of its career, the Bahmani dynasty represented the cause of Islam against Hinduism on the south of the Vindhya. Its alliances and its wars alike led to a mingling of the Mussulman and Hindu populations. For example, the king of Malwa invaded the Bahmani dominions with a mixed force of 12,000 Mohammedan Afghans and Hindu Rajputs. The Hindu raja of Vijayanagar recruited his armies from Afghan Mussulmans, whom he paid by assignments of land, and for whom he built a mosque. The Bahmani Mohammedan troops, on the other hand, were frequently led by converted Hindus. The Bahmani armies were themselves made up of two hostile sects of Mussulmans. One sect consisted of Shias, chiefly Persians, Turks, or Tatars from central Asia; the other, of native-born Mussulmans of southern India, together with Abyssinian mercenaries, professing the Sunni faith. The rivalry between these Mussulman sects frequently imperiled the Bahmani throne. The dynasty reached its highest power during the first half of the fifteenth century, and was broken up by its discordant elements between 1489 and 1525.

Out of its fragments the five independent Mohammedan kingdoms in the Deccan were formed. These were: the Adil Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bijapur, founded in 1489 by a son of Amurath II., sultan of the Ottoman Turks, and annexed by the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb in 1686-1688; the Kutab Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Golconda, founded in 1512 by a Turkoman adventurer and also annexed by Aurangzeb in 1687-1688; the Nizam Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Ahmadnagar, founded in 1490 by a Brahman renegade from the Vijayanagar court and finally subverted by the Mogul emperor, Shah Jahan, in 1636; the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, with its capital at Ellichpur, founded in 1484 also by a Hindu from Vijayanagar and annexed to the Ahmadnagar kingdom in 1572; and the Barid Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bidar, founded 1492-1498 by a Turki or Georgian slave. The Bidar territories were small and ill-defined; and were independent till after 1609. Bidar fort was taken by Aurangzeb in 1657.

It is beyond the scope of this book to trace the history of these local Mohammedan dynasties of southern India. They preserved their independence until the firm establishment of the Mogul empire in the north, under Akbar and his successors. For a time they

1340-1526

had to struggle against the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In 1565 they combined against that power, and, aided by a rebellion within Vijayanagar itself, they overthrew it at Talikot in 1565. The battle of Talikot marks the final downfall of Vijayanagar as a great Hindu kingdom. Talikot in the Bijapur district of the Bombay presidency was the headquarters of the Mohammedan allies and the battle was fought thirty miles farther south on the right bank of the Kistna on January 25, 1565. The local Hindu chiefs or nayaks kept hold of their respective fiefs, and the Mohammedan kings of the south were only able to annex a part of its dominions. From the nayaks are descended the well known pategars (also spelled polygars) of the Madras presidency, and the maharaja of Mysore, who were minor chiefs with something like feudal power, and are now small landlords with feudal characteristics. One of the blood-royal of Vijayanagar fled to Chandragiri, and founded a line which exercised a prerogative of its former sovereignty, by granting the site of Madras to the English in 1639. Another scion, claiming the same high descent, lingers to the present day near the ruins of Vijayanagar, and is known as the raja of Anagundi, a feudatory of the nizam of Haidarabad. The independence of the local Hindu rajas in southern India throughout the Mohammedan period is illustrated by the Manjarabad family, a line of petty chiefs, which maintained its authority from 1397 to 1799.

In northern India Lower Bengal threw off the authority of Delhi about 1340. Its Mohammedan governor, Fakir-ud-din, made himself sovereign and stamped coin in his own name. A succession of a score of kings ruled Bengal until 1538, when it was temporarily annexed to the Mogul empire of Delhi by Humayun. Bengal was finally incorporated into that empire by Akbar in 1576. The great province of Gujarat in western India had in like manner grown into an independent Mohammedan kingdom, with its capital at Ahmadabad, which lasted for nearly two centuries, from 1391 till conquered by Akbar in 1573. The kingdom of Gujarat was notable for its participation in the famous maritime struggle with the Mamelukes of Egypt against the first Portuguese viceroy in India, Almeida, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Malwa, which had also risen to be an independent state under its Mohammedan governors, was annexed by the king of Gujarat in 1531. Even Jaunpur, including the territory of Benares, in the center of the

Gangetic valley, maintained its independence as a Mussulman state for nearly a hundred years, from 1394 to 1478, during the disturbed rule of the Sayyids and the first Lodi at Delhi.

The position of the early Mohammedan rulers of Delhi was a very difficult one. Successive Mussulman hordes of Turks, Afghans, and Tatars swept down the passes, and wrested India from the preceding invaders of their own Mohammedan faith. The Delhi empire was therefore beset by three perpetual dangers. First, new Mohammedan invasions from central Asia; second, rebellious Mohammedan generals or governors within India; third, the Hindu races whom the early Delhi kings neither conciliated nor crushed. It was reserved for Akbar the Great to remedy the inherent weakness of the position; and by incorporating the Hindus into his government, to put a curb alike on Mohammedan invaders from without, and on too powerful Mohammedan subjects within.

Chapter X

THE MOGUL DYNASTY. 1526-1761

WHEN, therefore, Babar the Mogul invaded India in 1526, he found it divided among a number of local Mohammedan kings and Hindu princes. An Afghan sultan of the House of Lodi, with his capital at Agra, ruled over what little was left of the historic kingdom of Delhi. Babar, whose name literally means "the Lion," was born February 14, 1483, and was the fourth in descent from Timur the Tatar. In 1494, at the early age of eleven, he succeeded his father in the petty kingdom of Ferghana on the Jaxartes River (the modern Sir-Daria); and, after romantic adventures, conquered Samarkand, the capital of Timur's line, in 1497. Overpowered by a rebellion, and driven out of the valley of the Oxus, Babar seized the kingdom of Kabul in 1504. During fifteen years he grew in strength on the Afghan side of the Indian passes; then in 1519, Babar began his series of invasions into India, but it was not until the campaign of 1525-1526 that he was successful and defeated the Delhi sovereign, Ibrahim Lodi, at Panipat. This was the first of three great battles which, within modern times, have decided the fate of India on that same plain of Panipat, namely: 1526, 1556, and 1761.

Panipat is near the Jumna in the province of the Punjab, and on the Grand Trunk road fifty miles north of Delhi. The battlefield was on the vast plain surrounding the town. Babar's victory was won on the morning of April 21, 1526.

Having entered Delhi, Babar received the allegiance of the Mohammedans, but was speedily attacked by the Rajputs of Chitor. Those clans had brought all Ajmere, Mewar, and Malwa under their rule, and now threatened to found a Hindu empire. In 1527 Babar defeated them at Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra, after a battle memorable for its perils, and for Babar's vow in his extremity never again to touch wine. He rapidly extended his power as far as Multan in the southern Punjab, and Behar in the eastern valley of the Ganges. Babar died at Agra, December 26, 1530,

leaving a Mogul empire which stretched from the River Amu, or Oxus, in central Asia, to the borders of the Gangetic delta in Lower Bengal.

Mogul is the Arabic spelling of Mongol, and is specially applied to the emperors of India descended from Babar and sometimes called in Europe the Babarids. They were, however, of mixed race; Babar himself was a Turk on his father's side, though a Mongol on his mother's, and he abhorred the very name of Mogul. His descendants introduced a strong Rajput strain by their marriages with Hindu princesses. The term Mogul is also applied to the followers of the Mogul emperors, and came to mean any fair man from central Asia or Afghanistan, as distinguished from the darker natives of India. The various foreign invaders, or governing Moslem class, Turks, Afghans, Pathans, and Moguls eventually became so mixed that all were indifferently termed Moguls.

Babar's son, Humayun, who was born on April 5, 1508, succeeded him in India, but had to make over Kabul and the western Punjab to his brother and rival, Kamran. Humayun was thus left to govern the new conquest of India, and at the same time was deprived of Afghanistan and the Punjab frontier from which his father had drawn his armies. The descendants of the early Afghan invaders, long settled in India, hated the new Mohammedan or Mogul hordes of Babar even more than they hated the Hindus. After ten years of fighting, Humayun was driven out of India by these Afghans under Sher Shah, the governor of Bengal. While Humayun was flying through the desert of Sind to Persia, his son Akbar was born in the petty fort of Umarnot (1542). Sher Shah made himself emperor of Delhi, but was killed while storming the fortress of Kalinjar in 1545. He was a far-sighted man and a wise ruler; he originated the fiscal and other reforms which Akbar the Great afterward carried out with such credit to himself. His son, Islam Shah, succeeded, but, under Sher Shah's grandson, the Indian provinces, including Malwa, the Punjab, and Bengal, revolted against the Afghan dynasty in Bengal. Humayun, having recovered his Kabul dominions, returned to India and defeated the Afghan army of Sher Shah's nephew, Sikandar [Sekunder] Shah, at Sirhind in 1555. Humayun reigned again for a few months at Delhi, but died January 24, 1556.

Akbar the Great, the real founder of the Mogul empire as

1556-1561

it existed for one and a half centuries, succeeded his father at the age of fourteen. Born October 15, 1542, his reign lasted for almost fifty years, from 1556 to 1605, and was therefore contemporary with that of Queen Elizabeth of England (1558-1603). His father, Humayun, left but a small kingdom in India, not so large as the present British province of the Punjab; Akbar expanded that small kingdom into an Indian empire. At the time of Humayun's death, Akbar was absent in the Punjab, under the guardianship of Bairam Khan, fighting the revolted Afghans. Bairam, a Turkoman by birth, had been the support of the exiled Humayun, and held the real command of the army which restored him to his throne at Sirhind. He now became the regent for the youthful Akbar, under the honored title of Khan Baba, equivalent to "the king's father."

Akbar and his regent had at once to advance from the Punjab to reconquer the capital, which had been seized by Himu the able general of Sikandar Shah. The forces met on the field of Panipat, where Babar had won India thirty years before, and on November 5, 1556, Himu was defeated and slain. India now passed finally from the Afghans to the Moguls. Sher Shah's line disappeared from northern India and the Delhi throne, although it lingered on for a time in Lower Bengal.

Brave and skillful as a general, but harsh and overbearing, Bairam Khan raised many enemies; and Akbar, having endured four years of thralldom, took advantage of a hunting party in 1560 to throw off his minister's yoke. The fallen regent, after a struggle between his loyalty and his resentment, revolted, was defeated, and pardoned. Akbar granted him a liberal pension; and Bairam was in the act of starting on a pilgrimage to Mecca, when he fell beneath the knife of an Afghan assassin, whose father he had slain in battle.

The reign of Akbar was a reign of pacification. On his accession in 1556 he found India split up into petty Hindu and Mohammedan kingdoms, and seething with discordant elements; on his death in 1605, he bequeathed it an almost united empire. The earlier invasions by Turks, Afghans, and Moguls had left a powerful Mohammedan population in India under their own kings. Akbar reduced these Mussulman states to provinces of the Delhi empire. Many of the Hindu kings and Rajput nations had also regained their independence: Akbar brought them into political dependence

upon his authority. This double task he effected partly by force of arms, but in part also by alliances. He enlisted the Rajput princes by marriage and by a sympathetic policy in the support of his throne. He then employed them in high posts, and played off his Hindu generals and Hindu ministers alike against the Mogul party in upper India, and against the Afghan faction in Lower Bengal.

Humayun had left but a small kingdom, confined to the Punjab, with the districts round Delhi and Agra. Akbar between 1561 and 1568 extended it, at the expense of his nearest neighbors, the Rajputs. Jaipur was reduced to a fief of the empire; and Akbar cemented his conquest by marrying the daughter of its Hindu prince. Jodhpur was in like manner overcome; and Akbar married his son, Salim, who afterward reigned under the title of Jahangir, to the granddaughter of the raja. The Rajputs of Chitor were overpowered in 1568 after a long struggle, but would not mingle their high-caste Hindu blood even with that of a Mohammedan emperor. They found shelter among the mountains and deserts along the Indus, whence they afterward emerged to recover most of their old dominions, and to found their capital of Udaipur, which they retain to this day. They still boast that alone, among the great Rajput clans, they never gave a daughter in marriage to a Mogul emperor.

Akbar pursued his policy of conciliation toward all the Hindu states. He also took special care to provide a career for the lesser nobility. He appointed his brother-in-law, the son of the Jaipur raja, governor of the Punjab. Raja Man Singh, also a Hindu relative of the emperor's family, did good war service for Akbar from Kabul to Orissa, and ruled as his governor of Bengal from 1589 to 1604. Akbar's great finance minister, Raja Todar Mall, was likewise a Hindu, and carried out the first regular land-settlement and survey of India. He had been trained under Sher Shah, and after years of faithful service to Akbar, was his chief finance minister from 1582 until his death in 1589. Lane-Poole calls his survey "the Domesday Book of the Mogul empire." It introduced upon a regular and permanent basis Sher Shah's system of land revenue assessment which the British in turn inherited from the Moguls as the "settlement" system. Out of 415 mansabdars, or commanders of horse, 51 were Hindus. Akbar abolished the jaziah, the hated tax on non-Mussulmans, and placed all his

1576-1599

subjects upon a political equality. He had the Sanskrit sacred books and epic poems translated into Persian, and showed a keen interest in the religion of his Hindu subjects. He respected their laws, but he put down their inhumane rites. He forbade trial by ordeal, animal sacrifices, and child marriages before the age of puberty. He legalized the remarriage of Hindu widows; but he failed to abolish widow-burning on the husband's funeral pile, although he took steps to insure that the act should be voluntary.

Akbar thus incorporated his Hindu subjects into the effective force, both civil and military, of his empire. With their aid he reduced the independent Mohammedan kings of northern India. He subjugated the petty Hindu potentates from the Punjab to Behar. After a struggle he wrested Lower Bengal in 1576 from its Afghan princes of the House of Sher Shah. From the time of Akbar's conquest of Lower Bengal it remained for nearly two centuries a province of the Mogul empire, under governors appointed from Delhi. In 1765 it passed by an imperial grant to the British. Orissa, on the Bay of Bengal, submitted to Akbar's armies, under his Hindu general, Todar Mall, in 1575. On the opposite coast of India, Gujarat was reconquered from its independent Mohammedan king in 1572-1573, although not finally subjugated until 1593. Malwa had been reduced in 1572. Kashmir was conquered in 1587, and its last revolt quelled in 1592. Sind was also annexed in 1592; and by the recovery of Kandahar in 1594, Akbar extended the Mogul empire from the heart of Afghanistan across all India north of the Vindhya, eastward to Orissa, and westward to Sind. He removed the seat of government from Delhi to Agra, and founded Fatehpur Sikri as the future capital of the empire. From this project he was afterward dissuaded, by the superior position of Agra on the great waterway of the Jumna. In 1566 he built the Agra fort, whose red sandstone battlements majestically overhang the river to this day.

Akbar began to build at Sikri in 1569 and his structures there outdid Louis XIV.'s similar creation at Versailles a century later. Fatehpur Sikri was abandoned after fourteen years and its splendid ruins to-day form the unburied Pompeii of the Mogul empire.

Akbar's efforts to establish the Mogul empire in southern India were less successful. Those efforts began in 1586, but during the first twelve years they were frustrated by the valor and statesmanship of Chand Bibi, the Mussulman queen of Ahmad-

nagar. This celebrated lady skillfully united the usually hostile Abyssinian and Persian factions in southern India, together with their armies, and strengthened herself by an alliance with Bijapur and other Mohammedan states of the south. In 1599 Akbar led his armies in person against the princess; but notwithstanding her assassination by her mutinous troops, Ahmadnagar was not finally reduced till the reign of Akbar's grandson Shah Jahan, in 1636. Akbar subjugated Khandesh, and with this somewhat precarious annexation his conquests in southern India ceased. He returned to northern India in 1601, perhaps feeling that the conquest of the south was beyond the strength of his young empire.

His last years were embittered by the intrigues of his family, and by the misconduct of his beloved son, Prince Salim, afterward the Emperor Jahangir. On October 15, 1605, he died, and was buried in the noble mausoleum at Sikandra, whose mingled architecture of Buddhist design and Saracenic tracery bears witness to the composite faith of the founder of the Mogul empire. In 1873 the British viceroy, Lord Northbrook, presented a cloth of honor to cover the plain marble slab beneath which Akbar lies.

Akbar's conciliation of the Hindus, and his interest in their literature and religion, made him many enemies among the pious Mussulmans. His favorite wife was a Rajput princess; another of his wives is said to have been a Christian. On Thursday nights he loved to collect professors of many religions around him. He listened impartially to the arguments of the Brahman and the Mussulman, the Zoroastrian, the Jew, the Jesuit, and the skeptic philosopher. The history of his life, the "Akbar-namah," or the "Book of Akbar," written by Abul Fazl in 1597, records such a conference, in which the Christian priest Redif disputed with a body of Mohammedan mullas before an assembly of the doctors of all religions, and is allowed to have had the best of the argument. Starting from the broad ground of general toleration, Akbar was gradually led on by free discussion to question the truth of his inherited Mohammedan creed. The counsels of his friend Abul Fazl, coinciding with that sense of superhuman omnipotence which is bred of despotic imperial power, led Akbar at last to promulgate a new state religion, called "the divine faith," based upon natural theology, and comprising the best practices of all known forms of belief. Abul Fazl was born in 1551 and was connected with Akbar's court from 1574 until his death in 1602, occupying the

1593-1605

highest offices and enjoying the most intimate relations with Akbar. He was introduced at court by his brother Faizi, who was born in 1547 and lived at Akbar's court on terms of personal intimacy with the monarch from 1568 until his death in 1595. Faizi held a title at the court of Akbar equivalent to poet laureate. The brothers played a large part in the religious life and policy of Akbar. They wrote in Persian, the classical language of the eastern Mohammedans, which Akbar made the language for official business in India.

Of this made-up creed Akbar himself was the prophet, or rather the head of the church. Every morning he worshiped in public the sun, as the representative of the divine soul which animates the universe, while he was himself worshiped by the ignorant multitude. It is doubtful how far he encouraged this popular adoration of his person, but he certainly allowed his disciples to prostrate themselves before him in private. The stricter Mohammedans accused him, therefore, of accepting a homage permitted only to God. Akbar secured the establishment of toleration in 1593, five years before the Edict of Nantes.

Akbar not only subdued all India to the north of the Vindhya Mountains, he also organized it into an empire. He partitioned it into provinces, over each of which he placed a governor, or viceroy, with full civil and military control. This control was divided into three departments—the military, the judicial, including the police, and the revenue. With a view to preventing mutinies of the troops, or assertions of the independence by their leaders, he reorganized the army on a new basis. He substituted, as far as possible, money payments to the soldiers for the old system of grants of land, called jagirs, to the generals. Where this change could not be carried out, he brought the holders of the old military fiefs under the control of the central authority at Delhi. He further checked the independence of his provincial generals, by a sort of feudal organization, in which the Hindu tributary princes took their place side by side with the Mogul nobles. The judicial administration was presided over by a lord justice, or mir-i-adl, at the capital, aided by kazis, or law-officers, in the principal towns. The police in the cities were under a superintendent, or kotwal, who was also a magistrate. In country districts, where police existed at all, they were left to the management of the landholders or revenue officers, but throughout rural India no regular police force can

be said to have existed for the protection of person and property until after the establishment of British rule. The Hindu village-system had its hereditary watchman for each hamlet. These village watchmen were in many parts of the country taken from the predatory castes, and were as often leagued with the robbers as opposed to them. The landholders and revenue officers had each their own set of personal police, who plundered the peasantry in their names.

Akbar's revenue system was based on the ancient Hindu customs, and survives to this day. He first executed a survey or actual measurement of the fields. His officers then found out the produce of each acre of land, and settled the government share, amounting to one-third of the gross produce. Finally, they fixed the rates at which this share of the crop might be commuted into a money payment. These processes, known as the land settlement, were at first repeated every year, but, to save the peasant from the extortions and vexations incident to an annual inquiry, Akbar's land settlement was afterward made for ten years. His officers strictly enforced the payment of a third of the whole produce; and Akbar's land revenue from northern India exceeded what the British levy at the present day. From his fifteen provinces, including Kabul beyond the Afghan frontier, and Khandesh in southern India, he demanded in about 1580, \$78,000,000 per annum; or, excluding Kabul, Khandesh, and Sind, \$68,500,000. The British land tax from a much larger area of northern India was \$44,432,000 in 1901-1902. Allowing for the difference in area and in purchasing power of silver, Akbar's tax was about three times the amount which the British take. Returns for 1594 and 1605 show the land revenue of Akbar at \$91,000,000 and \$95,000,000. The provinces had also to support a local militia, or *bumi*, in contradistinction to the regular royal army, at a cost of at least \$55,000,000. Excluding both Kabul and Khandesh, Akbar's demand from the soil of northern India was about \$123,000,000 per annum, under the two items of land revenue and militia cess. There were also a number of miscellaneous taxes. Akbar's total revenue is estimated at about \$230,000,000; while the total British revenue from the corresponding region was \$158,912,000 in 1901-1902.

Akbar's Hindu minister, Raja Todar Mall, conducted the revenue settlement, and his name is still a household word among the husbandmen of Bengal. Abul Fazl, the man of letters, and finance

1605-1626

minister of Akbar, compiled a statistical survey of the empire, together with many vivid pictures of his master's court and daily life, in the "Ain-i-Akbari," which may be read with interest at the present day. Abul Fazl was killed in 1602 at the instigation of Prince Salim, the heir to the throne.

Salim, the favorite son of Akbar, was born late in 1569, and succeeded his father in 1605, and ruled until 1627, under the title of Jahangir, or "conqueror of the world." His reign of twenty-two years was spent in reducing the rebellions of his sons, in exalting the influence of his wife, and in festive self-indulgence. He carried on long wars in southern India or the Deccan, but he added little to his father's territories. India south of the Vindhya still continued apart from the northern empire of Delhi. Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, maintained, in spite of reverses, the independence of that kingdom. At the end of Jahangir's reign, his own son, Prince Khurram, was a rebel and a refugee in the Deccan, in alliance with Malik Ambar against the imperial troops. The Rajputs also began to reassert their independence. In 1614 Prince Khurram, on behalf of his father the emperor, defeated the Udaipur raja, but the conquest was only partial and for a time. Meanwhile, the Rajputs formed an important contingent of the imperial armies, and 5000 of their cavalry aided Prince Khurram to put down a revolt in Kabul. The Afghan province of Kandahar was wrested from Jahangir by the Persians in 1621. The land tax of the Mogul empire remained at about \$95,000,000, under Jahangir, but his total revenues were estimated by William Hawkins, who resided at the Mogul court from 1609 to 1611, at 500,000,000 rupees, or \$275,000,000.

The principal figure in Jahangir's reign is his empress, Nur Jahan, the "light of the world," otherwise known as Nur Mahal, the "light of the palace." Born in great poverty, but of a noble Persian family, her beauty won the love of Jahangir, while they were both in their first youth, during the reign of Akbar. The old emperor tried to put her out of his son's way, by marrying her to a brave soldier, who obtained high employment in Lower Bengal. Jahangir, on his accession to the throne, commanded her divorce. The husband refused, and was killed. The wife, being brought into the imperial palace, lived for some time in chaste seclusion as a widow, but in the end emerged as the Empress Nur Jahan, the "light of the world." She surrounded herself with her relatives,

and at first influenced the self-indulgent emperor, Jahangir, for his good; but the jealousy of the imperial princes and of the Mogul generals against her party led to intrigue and rebellion. In 1626 the successful general, Mahabat Khan, found himself compelled, in self-defense, to turn against her. He seized the emperor, whom he kept, together with Nur Jahan, in captivity for six months. Jahangir died in November of the following year, 1627, before he had completed the suppression of a rebellion against him, led by his son, Shah Jahan, and his greatest general, Mahabat Khan.

Jahangir's personal character is vividly portrayed by Sir Thomas Roe, the first British ambassador to India (1615-1618). Agra continued to be the central seat of the government, but the imperial army on the march formed in itself a splendid capital. Jahangir thought that Akbar had too openly severed himself from the Mohammedan faith. The new emperor conformed more strictly to the outward observances of Islam, but lacked the inward religious feeling of his father. While he forbade the use of wine to his subjects, he spent his own nights in drunken revelry. He talked religion over his cups until he reached a certain stage of intoxication, when he "fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight." In public he maintained a strict appearance of virtue, and never allowed any person whose breath smelt of wine to enter his presence. On one occasion, a courtier who had shared his midnight revel indiscreetly alluded to it next morning. The sultan gravely examined him as to who could possibly have been the companions of such a debauch, and bastinadoed them so severely that one of them died.

When sober Jahangir tried to work wisely for his empire. A chain hung down from the citadel to the ground, and communicated with a cluster of golden bells in his own chamber, so that every suitor might apprise the emperor of his demand for justice, without the intervention of the courtiers. Many European adventurers repaired to his court, and Jahangir patronized alike their arts and their religion. In his earlier years he had accepted the new religion, or "divine faith" of his father Akbar. It is said that on his accession he had even permitted the divine honors paid to Akbar to be continued to himself. Jahangir's first wife was a Hindu princess. Figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary adorned his rosary; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity with his approval.

1627-1648

On the news of his father's death, Prince Khurram hurried north from the Deccan, and proclaimed himself emperor, as Shah Jahan, at Agra in January, 1628. He put down forever the court faction of the Empress Nur Jahan, by confining her to private life upon a liberal allowance; and by murdering his brother, Shahriyar, with all the other members of the house of Akbar who might become rivals to the throne. He was just to his people, blameless in his habits, a good financier, and as economical as a magnificent court, splendid public works, and distant military expeditions could permit. Under Shah Jahan the Mogul empire was finally shorn of its Afghan province of Kandahar; but it extended its conquests in southern India or the Deccan, and raised the magnificent buildings in northern India which now form the most splendid memorials of the Mogul dynasty. After a temporary occupation of Balkh, and the actual reconquest of Kandahar by the Delhi troops in 1637, Shah Jahan lost much of his Afghan territories, and the province of Kandahar was severed from the Mogul empire by the Persians in 1653. On the other hand, in the Deccan, the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, to which Ellichpur had been united in 1572, was at last annexed to the Mogul empire in 1636; Bidar fort was taken in 1657; while the two other of the five kingdoms, namely Bijapur and Golconda, were forced to pay tribute, although not finally reduced until the succeeding reign of Aurangzeb. The Marathas now appear on the scene, and commenced, unsuccessfully at Ahmadnagar in 1637, that series of persistent Hindu attacks which were destined in the next century to break down the Mogul empire. The imperial princes, Aurangzeb and his brothers, carried on the wars in southern India and in Afghanistan for their father Shah Jahan.

Except during one or two military expeditions, Shah Jahan lived a magnificent life in the north of India. At Agra he raised the exquisite mausoleum of the Taj Mahal, a dream in marble, "designed by Titans and finished by jewelers." This was in memory of his wife, the mother of his fourteen children, who died in 1631. Her name was Arjamand Benu, but she was called Mumtaz-i-Mahal, or "exalted of the palace." The Taj was long in building and was not completed until 1648. His pearl mosque, the marble Moti Masjid, within the Agra fort, is perhaps the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world. Not content with enriching his grandfather Akbar's capital with these and other architec-

tural glories, Shah Jahan planned the retransfer of the seat of government to Delhi, and adorned that city with buildings of unrivaled magnificence. Its great mosque, the Jama Masjid, was commenced in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth. The palace of Delhi, now the fort, covered a vast parallelogram, 1600 feet by 3200, with exquisite and sumptuous buildings in marble and fine stone. The entrance consists of a deeply recessed gateway leading into a vaulted hall, which springs up two stories high, like the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral, 375 feet in length—"the noblest entrance," says Ferguson, the historian of architecture, "to any existing palace." The Diwan-i-Khas, or court of private audience, overlooks the river, a masterpiece of delicate inlaid work and poetic design. Shah Jahan spent many years of his reign at Delhi, and prepared the city for its destiny as the most magnificent capital in the world under his successor Aurangzeb. Exquisite as are its public buildings, the manly vigor of Akbar's red-stone fort at Agra, with its bold sculptures and square Hindu construction, has given place to a certain effeminate beauty in the marble structures of Shah Jahan.

Under Shah Jahan, the Mogul empire attained its highest union of strength with magnificence. His son and successor, Aurangzeb, added to its extent, but at the same time sowed the seeds of its decay. Akbar's land revenue of about \$95,000,000 had been raised, chiefly by new conquest, to more than \$120,000,000 under Shah Jahan, but this sum included Kashmir and five provinces in Afghanistan, some of which were lost during his reign. The land revenue of the Mogul empire within India was about \$114,000,000. The magnificence of Shah Jahan's court was the wonder of European travelers. His peacock throne, with its tail blazing in the shifting natural colors of rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, was valued by the jeweler, Tavernier, at more than \$30,000,000.

Akbar's dynasty lay under the curse of rebellious sons. As Jahangir had risen against his most loving father, Akbar, and as Shah Jahan had mutinied against Jahangir, so Shah Jahan in his turn suffered from the intrigues and rebellions of his family. In 1657 the old king fell ill; and Aurangzeb, born in 1618, after a treacherous conflict with his brethren, deposed his father, and proclaimed himself emperor in 1658. The unhappy emperor was kept in confinement for seven years, and died a state prisoner in the fort of Agra in 1666.

1658-1670

Aurangzeb proclaimed himself emperor under the title of Alamgir, the "conqueror of the universe," and reigned until 1707. Under Aurangzeb the Mogul empire reached its widest limits, but his long rule of forty-nine years merely presents on a more magnificent stage the usual tragic drama of a Mogul reign. In its personal character, it began with his rebellion against his father; consolidated itself by the murder of his brethren; and darkened to a close amid the mutinies, intrigues, and jealousies of his own sons. Its public aspects consisted of a magnificent court in northern India; conquests of the independent Mohammedan kings in the south; and wars against the Hindu powers, which, alike in Rajputana and in southern India or the Deccan, were gathering strength for the overthrow of the Mogul empire.

The year after his accession, Aurangzeb defeated and put to death his eldest brother, the noble but impetuous Dara. After another twelve months' struggle, he drove out of India his second brother, the self-indulgent Shuja, who perished miserably among the insolent savages of Arakan. His remaining brother, the brave young Murad, was executed in prison the following year, 1661.

Aurangzeb had from boyhood been a Mohammedan of the stern puritan type. Having now killed off his rival brethren, he set up as an orthodox sovereign of the strictest sect of Islam, while his invalid father, Shah Jahan, lingered on in prison, mourning over his murdered sons, until his own death.

Aurangzeb continued, as emperor, that persistent policy of the subjugation of southern India which he had brilliantly commenced as his father's lieutenant. Of the five Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, Bidar and Ahmadnagar with Ellichpur, had been subdued by his father, Shah Jahan, or had fallen to his arms, as the prince in command of the imperial armies, before his accession to the throne. The two others, Bijapur and Golconda, struggled longer, but Aurangzeb was determined at any cost to annex them to the Mogul empire. During the first half of his reign, or for exactly twenty-five years, he waged war in the south by means of his generals (1658-1683). A new Hindu power had arisen in the Deccan, the Marathas, whose history will be traced in more detail in a subsequent chapter.

The task before Aurangzeb's armies was not only the old one of subduing the Mohammedan kingdoms of Bijapur and Gol-

conda, but also the new one of crushing the quick growth of the Hindu or Maratha confederacy.

During a quarter of a century, his utmost efforts failed. Bijapur and Golconda were not conquered. In 1670 the Maratha leader, Sivaji, levied one-fourth of the revenues, as tribute from the Mogul provinces in southern India; and in 1674 he crowned himself an independent sovereign at Raigarh. In 1680-1681 Aurangzeb's son, Prince Akbar, having rebelled against his father, joined the Maratha army. Aurangzeb felt that he must either give up his magnificent palace in the north for a soldier's tent in the Deccan, or he must relinquish his most cherished scheme of conquering southern India. He accordingly prepared an expedition, on an unrivaled scale of numbers and splendor, to be led by himself. In 1683 he arrived at the head of his grand army in the Deccan, and spent the next half of his reign, or twenty-four years, in the field in southern India. Golconda and Bijapur fell after another severe struggle, and were finally annexed to the Mogul empire in 1688.

The conquest of these last of the five Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan only left the arena bare for the operations of the Marathas. Indeed, the attacks of the Marathas on the two Mohammedan states had prepared the way for their annexation by Aurangzeb. The emperor waged war during the remaining twenty years of his life (1688-1707) against the rising Hindu power of the Marathas. Their first great leader, Sivaji, had proclaimed himself king in 1674, and died in 1680. Aurangzeb captured his son and successor, Sambhaji, in 1689, and put him to a cruel death; seized the Maratha capital, with many of their forts; and seemed in the first year of the new century to have almost stamped out their existence; but, after a guerrilla warfare, the Marathas again sprang up into a powerful fighting nation. In 1705 they recovered their forts, while Aurangzeb had exhausted his health, his treasures, and his troops, in the long and fruitless struggle. His soldiery murmured for arrears, and the emperor, now old and peevish, told the malcontents that if they did not like his service they might quit it, while he disbanded some of his cavalry to ease his finances.

Meanwhile the Marathas were pressing hungrily on the imperial camp. The grand army of Aurangzeb had grown during a quarter of a century into an unwieldy capital. Its movements were slow, and incapable of concealment. If Aurangzeb sent out a rapid

1662-1705

small expedition against the Marathas, who plundered and insulted the outskirts of his camp, they cut it to pieces. If he moved out against them in force, they vanished. His own soldiery feasted with the enemy, who prayed, with mock ejaculations, for the health of the emperor as their best friend.

In 1706 the grand army was so disorganized that Aurangzeb opened negotiations with the Marathas. He even thought of submitting the imperial or Mogul provinces to their tribute; but the insolent exultation of the Maratha chiefs led to the treaty being broken off; and Aurangzeb, in 1706, found shelter in Ahmadnagar, where he died on March 3, 1707, in the fiftieth year of his reign and the eighty-ninth of his life. Dark suspicion of his sons' loyalty, and just fears lest they should subject him to the cruel fate which he had inflicted on his father, left him solitary in his last days. On the approach of death he gave utterance in broken sentences to his worldly counsels and adieus, mingled with terror and remorse, and closing in an agony of desperate resignation: "Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!"

The conquest of the Deccan or southern India was the one inflexible purpose of Aurangzeb's life, and has therefore been dealt with here in a continuous narrative. In the north of India great events had also transpired. His general Mir Jumla led the imperial troops as far as Assam, the extreme eastern province of India in 1662, but amid the pestilential swamps of the rainy season his army melted away, its supplies were cut off, and its march was surrounded by swarms of natives, who knew the country and were accustomed to the climate. Mir Jumla succeeded in extricating the main body of his troops, but died of exhaustion and a broken heart before he reached Dacca, in the Bengal delta.

In the northwest of India Aurangzeb was not more fortunate. During his time the Sikhs, a theistic and military sect of Hindus, were growing into a power, but it was not till the succeeding reigns that they commenced the series of operations which in the end wrested the Punjab from the Mogul empire. Aurangzeb's bigotry arrayed against him all the Hindu princes and peoples of northern India. He revived the jaziah, or poll-tax on non-Mussulmans, in 1677; drove the Hindus out of the administration; and oppressed the widow and children of his father's faithful Hindu general, Jaswant Singh. A local sect of Hindus in northern India was

persecuted into rebellion in 1676; and in 1677, the Rajput states combined against him. The emperor waged a protracted war against them, at one time devastating Rajputana, at another time saving himself and his army from extermination only by a stroke of genius and rare presence of mind. In 1680, his rebel son, Prince Akbar, went over to the Rajputs with his division of the Mogul or imperial army. From that year the permanent alienation of the Rajputs from the Mogul empire dates; and the Hindu chivalry, which had been a source of strength to Akbar the Great, became an element of ruin to Aurangzeb and his successors. The emperor pillaged and slaughtered throughout the Rajput states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Udaipur. The Rajputs retaliated by ravaging the Mohammedan provinces of Malwa, defacing the mosques, insulting the mullas, or priests of Islam, and burning the Koran. In 1681 the emperor patched up a peace in order to allow him to lead the grand army into the Deccan, from which he was destined never to return. Akbar's policy of conciliating the Hindus, and welding them into one empire with his Mohammedan subjects, came to an end under Aurangzeb.

All northern India except Assam, and the greater part of southern India, paid revenue to Aurangzeb. His Indian provinces covered nearly as large an area as do those of the British empire at the present day, although their dependence on the central government was less direct. From these provinces his land revenue demand is returned at from \$124,000,000 to \$212,000,000, a sum which represented at least three times the purchasing power of the land revenue of British India at the present day; but it is doubtful whether the enormous demand of \$212,000,000 was fully realized during any series of years, even at the height of Aurangzeb's power, before he left Delhi for his long southern wars. It was estimated at only \$165,000,000 in the last year of his reign, after his absence of a quarter of a century in the Deccan. Fiscal oppressions led to evasions and revolts; and one or other of the provinces was always in open war against the emperor. The official standard return of Aurangzeb's land revenue was about \$195,000,000, and this remained the nominal demand in the accounts of the central exchequer during the next half-century, notwithstanding that the empire had fallen to pieces. When the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Durani, entered Delhi in 1761, the treasury officers presented him with a statement showing the land revenue of the empire at more than

1705-1712

\$195,000,000. The highest land revenue of Aurangzeb, after his annexations in southern India, and before his final reverses, was returned at \$212,000,000, of which nearly \$209,000,000 were from Indian provinces, and the remainder from Kashmir and Kabul. The total revenue of the Mogul empire under Aurangzeb, from all sources, was estimated in 1695 at \$440,000,000, and in 1697 at \$424,000,000. The gross taxation levied from British India, deducting the opium excise, which is paid by the Chinese consumer, averaged \$185,000,000 during the ten years ending 1883.

Aurangzeb tried to live the life of a model Mohammedan emperor. It is interesting to compare Aurangzeb with his famous European contemporary, Louis XIV., for the length of his reign, for the half century of ruinous wars, for the policy of extreme centralization, for the ceaseless toil of the monarch in the personal government of his realm, for his intolerance and persecution of the Hindus corresponding with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the persecution of the Huguenots, and for the helpless state in which he left his realm. He might have said with the Grand Monarch, "*L'état, c'est moi.*" Magnificent in his public appearances, simple in his private habits, diligent in business, exact in his religious observances, an elegant letter-writer, and ever ready with choice passages alike from the poets and from the Koran, his life would have been a blameless one, if he had had no father to depose, no brethren to murder, and no Hindu subjects to oppress. His bigotry made an enemy of everyone who did not share his own faith; and the slaughter of his kindred compelled him to intrust his whole government to strangers. The Hindus never forgave him; and the Sikhs, the Rajputs, and the Marathas, immediately after his reign, began to close in upon the empire. His Mohammedan generals and viceroys, as a rule, served him well during his vigorous life; but at his death they usurped his children's inheritance.

The succeeding emperors were puppets in the hands of the too powerful soldiers or statesmen who raised them to the throne, controlled them while on it, and killed them when it suited their purposes to do so. The subsequent history of the empire is a mere record of ruin. For a time Mogul emperors still ruled India from Delhi; but of the six immediate successors of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) and Johander Shah (1712) were under the control of an unscrupulous general, Zul-fikar Khan, while the four

others, from 1712 to 1720, were the creatures of a couple of Sayyid adventurers who well earned their title of the "king-makers."

From the year 1720 the breaking up of the empire took a more open form. Chin Kulick Khan, who had received the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asof Jah from the Mogul emperor, by a series of intrigues and campaigns made himself independent ruler of the viceroyalty of the Deccan which had been intrusted to him, about 1720 to 1724. His successors continue to rule at Haidarabad under the title of nizam. Saadat Ali Khan, a Persian Shiah, who had risen to the post of wazir, or prime minister of the empire, practically established his own dynasty as the nawab wazir of Oudh, of which place he had been appointed governor in 1732. He died in 1743 and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Safdar Jang, whose son Shuja-ud-daula ruled from 1753 to 1775 and was defeated in the battle of Baxar in 1764. In Bengal, the nawab or governor, Murshid Kuli Khan, sometimes called Jafar Khan, or Brahman, made his province practically independent during his rule from 1704 to 1725.

The Hindu subjects of the empire were at the same time asserting their independence. The Sikh sect in the Punjab was driven by the oppression of the Delhi emperors into revolt in 1710, and was mercilessly crushed by the Sayyids, six years later. The indelible memory of the cruelties then inflicted by the Mogul troops nerved the Sikh nation with that hatred to Delhi which served the British cause so well in 1857. Their leader, Banda, was carried about in an iron cage, tricked out in the mockery of imperial robes, with scarlet turban and cloth of gold. His son's heart was torn out before his eyes, and thrown in his face. He himself was then pulled to pieces with red-hot pincers; and the Sikhs were exterminated like mad dogs. The Hindu princes of Rajputana were more fortunate. Ajit Singh of Jodhpur asserted his independence, and Rajputana practically severed its connection with the Mogul empire in 1715. The Marathas having enforced their claim for tribute throughout southern India, burst through the Vindhya into the north, and obtained from the Delhi emperors the cession of Malwa (1749) and Orissa (1751), with an imperial grant of tribute from Bengal (1751).

While the Mohammedan governors and Hindu subjects of the empire were thus becoming independent of the Delhi emperors, two new sets of external enemies appeared; one set from central Asia,

1739-1757

the other set from the sea. In 1739, Nadir Shah, who from a robber chieftain had become the commander of the Persian army and in 1736 the usurper of the throne of Persia, swooped down on India, with his destroying host, and, after a massacre in the streets of Delhi and a fifty-eight days' sack, returned through the north-western passes with a booty estimated at \$155,000,000. The destroying host of the Persian king was succeeded by a series of invasions from Afghanistan. Six times between 1747 and 1767 the Afghans burst through the passes under Ahmad Shah Durani, pillaging, slaughtering, and then scornfully retiring to their homes with the plunder of the Mogul empire. Ahmad was born about 1724, the son of the hereditary chief of the Abdali tribe of Afghans. From 1738 to 1747 he was in the service of Nadir Shah, after whose assassination in 1747 he made his way to Kandahar and had himself crowned shah or king, and changed his tribal name to Durani. He died in 1773. In 1738, Kabul, the last Afghan province of the Mogul, was severed from Delhi; and, in 1752, Ahmad Shah obtained the cession of the Punjab from the miserable emperor. The cruelties inflicted upon Delhi and northern India during these six Afghan invasions form an appalling tale of bloodshed and wanton cruelty. The wretched capital opened her gates, and was fain to receive the Afghans as guests. Yet in 1757 it suffered for six weeks every enormity which a barbarian army can inflict upon a prostrate foe. Meanwhile the Afghan cavalry were scouring the country, slaying, burning, and mutilating, in the meanest hamlet as in the greatest town. They took especial delight in sacking the holy places of the Hindus, and murdering the defenseless votaries at the shrines.

A single example must suffice to show the miseries inflicted by the invaders of India from the northwest. A horde of 25,000 Afghan horsemen swooped down upon the sacred city of Muttra during a festival, while it was thronged with peaceful Hindu pilgrims engaged in their devotions. "They burned the houses," says the Tyrolese Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who was in India at that time, "together with their inmates, slaughtering others with the sword and the lance; haling off into captivity maidens and youths, men and women. In the temples they slaughtered cows [the sacred animal of the Hindus] and smeared the images and pavement with the blood." The borderland between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste; indeed, districts far within the Indian frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are

now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants. Thus Gujranwala, the seat of the ancient capital of the Punjab in Buddhist times, was utterly depopulated. Its present inhabitants are immigrants of comparatively recent date. The district, which was stripped of its inhabitants in the eighteenth century, has now a new population of a million.

The other set of invaders came from over the sea. In the wars between the French and English in southern India, the last vestiges of the Delhi authority in the Karnatik disappeared (1748-1761); while, as a result of Maja Muroia's victory at Baxar in 1764, Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were handed over to the English by an imperial grant in 1765. The British obtained these three fertile provinces as the nominee of the emperor; but the battle of Panipat had already reduced the throne of Delhi to a shadow. That battle was fought on January 6, 1761, between the Afghan invader Ahmad Shah and the Maratha powers, on the memorable plain of Panipat on which Babar and Akbar had twice won the sovereignty of India. The Afghans defeated the Marathas; but although the Mohammedans could still win victories, they could no longer rule India. During the anarchy which followed, the British patiently built up a new power out of the wreck of the Mogul empire. Puppet emperors continued to reign at Delhi over a numerous seraglio, under such lofty titles as Akbar II. or Alamgir II., but their power was confined to the palace, while Marathas, Sikhs, and Englishmen were fighting for the sovereignty of India. The last of these pensioned Mogul kings of Delhi emerged for a moment as a rebel during the Mutiny of 1857, and died a state prisoner in Rangoon, the capital of British Burma, in 1862.

Akbar had rendered a great empire possible in India by conciliating the native Hindu races. He thus raised up a powerful third party, consisting of the native military peoples of India, which enabled him alike to prevent new Mohammedan invasions from central Asia, and to keep in subjection his own Mohammedan governors of provinces. Under Aurangzeb and his miserable successors this wise policy of conciliation was given up. Accordingly, new Mohammedan hordes soon swept down from Afghanistan; the Mohammedan governors of Indian provinces set up as independent potentates: and the warlike Hindu races, who had helped Akbar to create the Mogul empire, became, under his foolish posterity, the chief agents of its ruin.

1761

Before the British appeared as conquerors, the Mogul empire had broken up. Their final and most perilous wars were neither with the Delhi king, nor with his revolted Mohammedan viceroys, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Mohammedan princes fought against them in Bengal, in the Karnatik, and in Mysore; but the longest opposition to the British conquest of India came from the Hindus. Their last Maratha war dates as late as 1818, and the Sikh confederation was overcome only in 1849.

Chapter XI

THE MARATHAS. 1650-1818

ABOUT the year 1634 a Maratha soldier of fortune, Shahji Bhonsla by name, began to play a conspicuous part in southern India. He fought on the side of the two independent Mohammedan states, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, against the Moguls; and left a band of followers, together with a military fief, to his son Sivaji, born in 1627. Sivaji formed a national party out of the Hindu tribes of the Deccan, a native Hindu party which was opposed alike to the imperial armies from the north, and to the independent Mohammedan kingdoms of the south. There were thus, from 1650 onward, three powers in the Deccan: first, the ever-invading troops of the Delhi empire; second, the forces of the two remaining independent Mohammedan states of southern India, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur; third, the military organization of the local Hindu tribes, which ultimately grew into the Maratha confederacy.

During the eighty years' war of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, with a view to the conquest of the independent Mohammedan kingdoms in southern India (1627-1707), this third or Hindu party fought sometimes for the Delhi emperors, sometimes for the independent Mohammedan kingdoms, and obtained a constantly increasing importance. The Mogul armies from the north, and the independent Mohammedan kingdoms of the south, gradually exterminated each other. Being foreigners, they had to recruit their exhausted forces from outside. The Hindu or Maratha confederacy drew its inexhaustible native levies from the wide tract known as Maharashtra, stretching from the Berars in central India to near the south of the Bombay presidency. The Marathas were therefore courted alike by the imperial generals from Delhi and by the independent Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan. Those kingdoms, with the help of the Marathas, long proved a match for the imperial troops; but no sooner were the Delhi armies driven back,

1650-1680

than the Marathas proceeded to despoil the independent Mussulman kingdoms. On the other hand, the Delhi generals, when allied with the Marathas, could overpower the Mohammedan states.

Sivaji, the great Maratha leader, saw the strength of his position, and, by a life of treachery, assassination, and hard fighting, he won for the Marathas the practical supremacy in southern India. As a basis for his operations, he perched himself safe in almost impregnable hill forts among the Western Ghats. His troops consisted of Hindu spearmen, mounted on hardy ponies. They were the peasant proprietors of southern India, and they could be dispersed or promptly called together according to the season of the agricultural year. Except at seed time and harvest, they were always at leisure for war. Sivaji had therefore the command of an unlimited body of men, without the expense of a standing army. With these he swooped down upon his enemies, exacted tribute, or forced them to come to terms. He then paid off his soldiery by a part of the plunder, and retreated with the lion's share to his hill forts. In 1659 he lured the general of the independent Mohammedan kingdom of Bijapur into an ambush, stabbed him at a friendly conference, and exterminated his army. In 1662 Sivaji pillaged as far as the extreme north of the Bombay presidency, and sacked the imperial city of Surat. On this occasion the English president at Surat, Sir George Oxenden, succeeded in beating off the Marathas from the English factory. Surat was raided by the Marathas several times in succeeding years, but the European factories were generally able to escape pillage. In 1664 he assumed the title of raja or king, with the royal prerogative of coining money in his own name. The year 1665 found Sivaji helping the Mogul armies against the independent Mussulman state of Bijapur. In 1666 he was induced to visit Delhi. Being coldly received by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and placed under restraint, he escaped to the south and raised the standard of revolt. In 1674 Sivaji enthroned himself with great pomp at Raigarh, weighing himself in a balance against gold, and distributing his weight in gold among his Brahmans. He sent forth his hosts as far as the Karnatik in 1676, and he died in 1680.

The Emperor Aurangzeb would have done wisely to have left the independent Mussulman kings of the Deccan alone, until he had crushed the rising Maratha power. Indeed, a great statesman would have buried the old quarrel between the Mohammedans of

the north and south, and would have united the whole force of Islam against the Hindu confederacy, which was rapidly growing to be the strongest power in the Deccan; but the fixed resolve of Aurangzeb's life was to annex to Delhi the Mohammedan kingdoms of southern India. By the time he had carried out this scheme he had wasted his armies and left the Mogul empire ready to break into pieces at the first touch of the Maratha spear.

Sambhaji succeeded his father, Sivaji, in 1680, and ruled till 1689. His reign was spent in wars against the Portuguese settlements on the southwestern coast of India, and against the armies of the Mogul empire. In 1689 Aurangzeb captured him, blinded his eyes with a red-hot iron, cut out the tongue which had blasphemed the Prophet, and struck off his head. His son, Sahu, then six years of age, was also captured and kept a prisoner till the death of Aurangzeb. In 1707 he was restored, on acknowledging allegiance to Delhi; but his long captivity among the Moguls left him only half a Maratha. He wasted his life in his seraglio, and resigned the government of his territories to his Brahman minister, Balaji Vishwanath, who held the title of peshwa from 1712 to 1720. This office of peshwa or prime minister became hereditary, and the power of the peshwa superseded that of the Maratha kings. The royal family of Sivaji only retained the little principalities of Satara and Kolhapur. Satara lapsed to the British, for want of a direct heir, in 1849. Kolhapur has survived through British clemency, and is now ruled, under British control, by the representative of Sivaji's line.

Meanwhile the peshwas were building up at Poona the great Maratha confederacy. In 1718 Balaji, the first peshwa, marched an army to Delhi in support of the Sayyid "king-makers." In 1720 he extorted an imperial grant of the tribute of the Deccan. The Marathas were also confirmed in the sovereignty of their own southern countries round Poona and Satara. The second peshwa, Baji Rao (1721-1740), converted the grant of the tribute of the Deccan, which had been given by the Delhi emperor in 1720, into a Maratha sovereignty over the Deccan. The second peshwa also wrested the province of Malwa from the Mogul empire in 1736, together with the country on the northwest of the Vindhya, from the Narbada to the Chambal. In 1739 he captured Bassein from the Portuguese. Malwa was finally ceded by the Delhi emperor to the Marathas in 1743.

1740-1761

The third peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, succeeded in 1740, and carried the Maratha terror into the heart of the Mogul empire. The Deccan became merely a starting-point for a vast series of their expeditions to the north and the east. Within the Deccan itself the peshwa augmented his sovereignty, at the expense of the Mohammedan nizam of Haidarabad, after two wars. The great centers of the Maratha power were now fixed at Poona in Bombay and Nagpur in the Central Provinces. In 1741-1742, a general of the Nagpur branch of the Maratha confederacy, known as the Bhonslas, swept down upon Lower Bengal; but, after plundering to the suburbs of the Mohammedan capital of Murshidabad, he was driven back through Orissa by the nawab Ali Vardi Khan. The "Maratha ditch," or semicircular moat around part of Calcutta, records to this day the panic which then spread throughout Lower Bengal. Next year, 1743, the head of the Nagpur branch, Raghuji Bhonsla, invaded Lower Bengal in person. From this date, notwithstanding quarrels between the Poona and Nagpur Marathas over the spoil, the fertile provinces of the lower Ganges became a plundering ground of the Bhonslas. In 1751 they obtained a formal grant from the nawab Ali Vardi Khan of the tribute of Lower Bengal, together with the cession of Orissa. In northern India the Poona Marathas raided as far as the Punjab, and drew down upon them the wrath of Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan, who had already wrested that province from Delhi. At the battle of Panipat in 1761 the Marathas were overthrown by the combined Mohammedan forces of the Afghans and of the northern provinces which still nominally remained to the Mogul empire.

The fourth peshwa, Madhu Rao, succeeded to the Maratha sovereignty in this moment of ruin (1761). The Hindu confederacy seemed doomed to destruction, alike by internal dissensions and by the superior force of the Afghan arms. As early as 1742, the Poona and Nagpur branches had taken the field against each other, in their quarrels over the plunder of Bengal. Before 1761 two other branches, under Holkar and Sindhia, held independent sway in the old Mogul province of Malwa and the neighboring tracts, now divided between the states of Indore and Gwalior. At Panipat, Holkar, the head of the Indore branch, deserted the line of battle the moment he saw the tide turn, and his treachery rendered the Maratha rout complete. The peshwa was now little more than the nominal head of the five great Maratha houses. The

word peshwa is a title. Sindhia, Holkar, the Bhonsla, and the Gaekwar are the heads of the families of the respective names. The full form of their title is the Maharaja Sindhia, or the maharaja of Gwalior, etc. These five Maratha houses or dynasties had separate territories and armies. Their five capitals were at Poona, the seat of the peshwas; at Nagpur, the capital of the Bhonslas; at Gwalior, the residence of Sindhia; at Indore, the capital of Holkar; and at



Baroda, the seat of the rising power of the Gaekwars. Madhu Rao, the fourth peshwa, just managed to hold his own against the Mohammedan princes of Haidarabad and Mysore, and against the Bhonsla branch of the Marathas in Berar. His younger brother, Narayan Rao, succeeded him as fifth peshwa in 1772, but was quickly assassinated. The peshwas were the great Maratha power in southern India; the other four or northern Maratha branches

1761-1817

were Sindhia and Holkar, the Bhonslas of Nagpur, and the Gaekwars of Baroda. We shall briefly relate the fortunes of these four northern branches.

The peshwa's power at Poona began to grow weak, as that of his nominal masters, the royal descendants of Sivaji, had faded out of sight. The peshwas came of a high Brahman lineage, while the actual fighting force of the Marathas consisted of low-caste Hindus. It thus happened that each Maratha general who rose to independent territorial sway was inferior in caste to, although possessed of more real power, than the peshwa, the titular head of the confederacy. Of the two great northern houses, Holkar was descended from a shepherd, and Sindhia from a slipper-bearer. The Marathas under Holkar and Sindhia lay quiet for a time after their crushing disaster at Panipat in 1761; but within ten years of that fatal day they had established themselves throughout Malwa, and proceeded to invade the Rajput, Jat, and Rohilla provinces, from the Punjab on the west to Oudh in the east. In 1765 the titular emperor, Shah Alam, had sunk into a British pensioner, after his defeat by Sir Hector Munro at Baxar in 1764. In 1771 the emperor gave himself over to the Marathas. Sindhia and Holkar nominally maintained him on his throne at Delhi, but held him a virtual prisoner till they were overthrown in the second Maratha war. The dynasties of both Sindhia and Holkar have preserved to the present day their rule over the most fertile portion of Malwa.

The third of the northern Maratha houses, namely the Bhonslas of Berar and the Central Provinces, occupied themselves with raids to the east. Operating from their base at Nagpur, they had extorted in 1751 the tribute of Lower Bengal, together with the sovereignty of Orissa. The acquisition of Lower Bengal by the British (1756-1765) put a stop to their raids. In 1803 a division of the English army drove the Bhonsla Marathas out of Orissa. In 1817 their power was finally broken by the last Maratha war. Their headquarter territories, now forming the Central Provinces, were administered under the guidance of British residents from 1817 to 1853. On the death of the last Raghujji Bhonsla without a direct male heir, in 1853, the Nagpur Maratha territories lapsed to the British, who organized them as the Central Provinces in 1861.

The fourth of the northern Maratha houses, namely, Baroda, extended its power throughout Gujarat, on the northwestern coast

of Bombay, and the adjacent peninsula of Kathiawar. The scattered but wealthy dominions known as the territories of the Gaekwar were thus formed. Since the last Maratha war, in 1817, Baroda has been ruled by the Gaekwars, with the help of an English resident. In 1874, the reigning Gaekwar was tried by a high commission, composed of three European and three native members, on the charge of attempting to poison the resident, and deposed; but the British government refrained from annexing the state, and raised a descendant of the founder of the family from obscure poverty to the state cushion.

While the four northern houses of the Marathas were pursuing their separate careers, the peshwa's power was being broken to pieces by family intrigues. The sixth peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, was born after his father's death; and during his short life of twenty-one years the power remained in the hands of his minister, Nana Farnavis. Raghuba, the uncle of the peshwa, disputed the birth of the posthumous child, Madhu Rao, and claimed for himself the office of peshwa. The infant's guardian, Nana Farnavis, having called in the French, the British at Bombay sided with Raghuba. These alliances brought on the first Maratha war, 1779-1781, ending with the Treaty of Salbai (1782). That treaty ceded the Islands of Salsette and Elephanta near Bombay, together with two others to the British, secured to Raghuba a handsome pension, and confirmed the child-peshwa in his sovereignty, but the young peshwa only reached manhood to commit suicide at the age of twenty-one.

His cousin, Baji Rao II., succeeded him in 1795 as the seventh and last peshwa. The northern Maratha house of Holkar now took the lead among the Marathas, and forced the peshwa to seek protection with the English. By the Treaty of Bassein in 1802 Baji Rao the peshwa agreed to receive a British force to maintain him in his dominions. The northern Maratha houses combined to break down his treaty. The second Maratha war followed (1802-1804). General Wellesley, afterward Duke of Wellington, crushed the forces of the Sindhvi and Nagpur branches of the Marathas on the field of Assaye and Argaum in the south, while Lord Lake disposed of the Maratha armies at Laswari and Delhi in the north. In 1804 Holkar was completely defeated at Dig. These campaigns led to large cessions of territory to the British, to the final overthrow of French influence in India, and to the restoration of the titular Delhi emperor under the protection of the English.



THE MARATHA MAHARAJA OF HOLKAR AT THE HEAD OF HIS CAVALRY IN THE
BATTLE OF ASSAYE
Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

1818

In 1817-1818, the peshwa, Holkar, and the Bhonsla at Nagpur, took up arms, each on his own account, against the British, and were defeated in detail. That war broke the Maratha power forever. The peshwa, Baji Rao, surrendered himself to the British and his territories were annexed to the Bombay presidency. The peshwa remained a British pensioner at Bithur, near Cawnpur in northern India, on a magnificent allowance, till his death. His adopted son grew up into the infamous Nana Sahib of the Mutiny of 1857, when the last relic of the peshwas disappeared from the eyes of men.

Chapter XII

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS. 1498-1800

THE Mohammedan invaders of India had entered from the northwest. The Christian conquerors of India came by the sea from the south. Twenty-eight years lacking a month before Babar's famous victory at Panipat which transformed the history of India, there landed on the Malabar coast of India a little expedition whose arrival was fated even more than the triumph of the Mogul conqueror to alter the destinies of the great peninsula and to make the date 1498 the most important in Indian history since the departure of Alexander the Great in 325 B. C. The tremendous importance in the history of both India and Europe of the voyage of Vasco da Gama has ranked it with Columbus's famous voyage of discovery six years earlier. This has perhaps led to the misconception that India was as unknown to Europe and of as little importance to Europe before that date as was America.

The truth is far otherwise, for, though the arms of the Persians and the Greeks, alone among the nations ruling the shores of the Mediterranean, had penetrated to India before the days of the Portuguese, the trade of India had been one of the most important factors in determining the course of empire and the lines of historical development in western Asia, in northern Africa, and in Europe from prehistoric times downward. As far back as the eye of the historian may find a record to read, memorials of Indian trade are discovered. The possession of the trade of India and the East was not the least important factor in determining the rise and fall of western empires in the pre-Christian centuries and in the Middle Ages, as in modern times. By three great highways, the strange and valued products of the Indies for thirty centuries passed from the confines and coasts of India to the shores of the Mediterranean; and now the present age is busy raising the embargo of four centuries from the three ancient highroads of the world's most valuable commerce. In 1869 the opening of the Suez Canal revived the importance of the Red Sea route between Europe

1498

and the East; more recently Russia's Trans-Caucasian and Trans-Caspian Railways have opened roads of steel and steam where once the caravan crossed the deserts of central Asia with the merchandise of India and sought the ports of the Caspian and the Euxine; and the projected construction of the extension of the Anatolian Railroad to Bussorah will again open the oldest and most historic of all the routes of Indian trade, the Persian Gulf-Syrian line.

The Chaldeans "whose cry is in their ships" enriched Babylon with the traffic of the East, and passed it on up the river valleys of Mesopotamia and across the desert to the marts of Tyre and Sidon, whence the Phœnicians, the lords of the western seas, distributed the eagerly sought goods to the nations of the Mediterranean. The fate not only of Babylonia and Assyria and of Media and Persia was affected by this trade, but the prosperity and the wreck of the Hebrew nation might almost be spoken of as an episode in the history of this great trade route. Alexander and Pompey made the control of this trade route for the first time a prize of European empire. When the headship of empire passed from Rome to Constantinople, the trade of the East became a valued perquisite of the Byzantines. The rapid spread of the Saracen empire in the seventh century restored this trophy to Asia; and to the splendor of Damascus and Bagdad, India was a notable contributor. From the eleventh century onward, the gigantic raids of the Turkish and Mogul hordes from the east, and the pious zeal of the Crusader from the west, interrupted trade by this route and finally the spread of the empire of the Ottoman Turk led to its almost complete disuse in the fifteenth century.

The central Asian route, while free from the perils of the sea, was still a tedious and dangerous one and the most liable to interruption by the central Asian hordes. There is evidence of the very ancient use of this route and the fabled voyage of the Argonauts at least indicates the existence of early civilization on the shores of the Euxine and the presence there of rich prizes worth the seeking. One branch of this central Asian route touches the Caspian, where some of the trade was diverted to the Volga, but most of it passed by Tiflis to the Black Sea. Another branch of the route ran by Tabriz and the Erzerum direct to the Euxine, from whose eastern shores the bulk of the trade passed to Constantinople, which was the great emporium where Asia and Europe exchanged the

commerce of this route. Some of the trade from the earliest times crossed the sea to the shores of the Crimea, whence it followed the Don and the Dneiper to the northern marts, whither, in the Middle Ages, the merchants of the Hansa came to traffic. The central Asian route, like the Persian Gulf-Syrian one, was closed almost absolutely by the Moguls and the Turks. It is, however, of interest to note that in the days of Queen Mary an Englishman, Anthony Jenkinson, who had reached Russia by way of Archangel, followed the conquering armies of Ivan the Terrible down to Astrakhan, and thence pushed on into central Asia as far as Bokhara (1558), where for the first time an Englishman beheld natives of India who had come thither to trade.

To which dynasty of the Pharaohs the credit is due for opening the Red Sea route to India is past finding out, but no doubt the mariner had been plying from the Red Sea to the Malabar coast for a thousand years before the great Pharaoh Necho sought to further extend Egyptian trade by his public works at home and by the expeditions which he is said to have fitted out to explore unknown seas. Three centuries later the Macedonian conqueror founded Alexandria (332 B. C.) which was the greatest mart of Indian trade in the Levant from the days of the Ptolemies until the Ottoman forces of the Sultan Selim I. conquered Egypt in 1517. It was in the last days of the Ptolemies that the pilot Hippalus discovered the phenomenon of the monsoons which enabled the sailor to navigate his ship intelligently and far more easily across the dangerous Indian Sea and furnished such a stimulus to trade that in the first century Pliny reckoned the annual value of the Indian trade at more than 55,000,000 sesterces, or \$2,000,000. At a slightly later date, the existing narrative of the "Circumnavigation of the Indian Ocean"¹ was written describing this route, while, from the days of the Byzantine splendor under Justinian, dates the account of Cosmas Indicopleustes in his "Christian Topography Embracing the Whole World," which is perhaps the most valuable western account of India prior to the thirteenth century. The Red Sea route was operated by Arab traders from the rise of the Saracen empire to the arrival of the Portuguese in India and of the Ottoman Turks in Egypt. From Alexandria the distributing trade was of enormous value and the contest for its con-

¹ Translated in J. W. McCrindle's "Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea."

1498

trol is the story of the rise and fall of cities and states along the shores of the Mediterranean. The two great rivals for this trade during the Middle Ages were the Genoese and the Venetians. Their trade development is one of the most important facts of the age of the Crusades. Gradually the Venetians forged ahead of their rivals, though the fall of the Latin empire of Constantinople in 1261 gave the Genoese practically a monopoly of the trade of that city until its capture by the Ottoman sultan in 1453. Venice acquired the major share of the trade coming by the Syrian and Red Sea routes, and Alexandria and Famagusta in Cyprus were her great emporia in the Levant. The successive triumphs of the Ottoman Turks in the Levant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gradually ruined Venice, and her humiliation was at last completed by the loss in 1669 of Candia, the last outpost of her great trade empire.

The wealth-giving products of India, China, and the East were thus known and valued in the West before the days of Alexander, and from Alexander's great diffusion of Hellenism till the rise of the new Hellenism in the fifteenth century, but through these long ages, had Europe been entirely ignorant of the marvelous land with its myriads of strange peoples? By no means, for in three ways there filtered through to the inquiring mediæval citizen of the West enough to stimulate the curiosity to know more. That the Greek, the Roman, and the Byzantine possessed some such knowledge has been seen. The expulsion of the Byzantines from Egypt and Syria broadened rather than narrowed the channels of information. From the seventh to the thirteenth centuries the Saracen encouraged both trade and learning as well as conquest, and no doubt many an observing Arab visited India in those days, and not a few have left some record of their observations. Even later, an Arab of Tangier, Ibn-Batuta, resided at the court of Mohammed Tughak from 1334 to 1342, and left an account of his experiences.

Love of adventure as well as of gain stirred in the hearts of the traders of Christian Europe and now and then some venturesome one extended his journey into the wondrous East, and occasionally one came back to tell the story of the marvels. Such voyagers were Marco Polo, the Venetian, at the close of the thirteenth century; Nicolo Conti, another Venetian of the early fifteenth century; Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian, who was in India about 1470; Hieronimo di Santo Stefano of Genoa, who was in India from 1494 to 1499;

and finally Ludovico di Varthema, a native of Bologna, reached India overland and spent part of the first decade of the fifteenth century in India. Christian venture has often kept company with commercial venture, and close upon the heels of the Polos went a follower of the good Saint Francis of Assisi, who journeyed through India to China, where he became Archbishop of Peking. This valiant friar, John of Monte Corvino, was followed by several other Franciscans, last of whom to record his story was John de Marignolli, who passed through India in 1347-1349—the years when the Black Death was devastating Europe. That the West cared to hear about the East is abundantly shown by the writings of Sir John Mandeville and their popularity.

The revival of learning with its widening of human interests early stimulated a desire for a wider knowledge of the earth, its lands, its seas, and its peoples. The scholar in his study eagerly pored over the pages of the long-forgotten geographical treatises of the ancients, such as that of Ptolemy of Alexandria. Those that went down to the sea in ships sought to correct their imperfect charts by comparison with the ancient records, and the spirit of venture stirred in them to visit forgotten shores, to penetrate to lands dimly outlined by some voyager of old, and even to find some new land or sail some new sea.

Not Venice and Genoa with their scholars, navigators, and merchant princes secure in their advantageous position and in the monopoly of the richest trade in the world, but Portugal, hitherto unblest with scholar or mariner or merchant, a nation shut off from the Mediterranean and denied participation in the rich advantages of Italy, a land whose only history was of a perpetual crusade against the Moslem for mere existence as a nation, brought forth the men who solved the problem of the new age and thereby turned the world's activities into new channels. Venice and Genoa still used the galley with its oars and slaves and needed no better craft on the land-locked seas. The ocean with its mighty waves and fearful storms demanded a vessel of far different character. The Mediterranean might be navigated without skillfully devised instruments such as were essential to the navigation of the untraversed ocean. Of these the Italian had no need; the Portuguese could do naught without newly designed ships and instruments, and so set himself at the problem of invention.

As the merchant and banker of the Italian city strove to main-

tain his monopoly by throttling every attempt at competition in the South, so in the North the merchants of the Hansa gripped the hardy seafarers of the North so tightly in their clutches that the sons of the vikings well-nigh forgot the ancestral art and achievement. England and France fighting their frightful Hundred Years' War; Aragon struggling for Sicilian dominion; and Castile still facing the Mohammedan in Granada, had neither time nor energy to take up any new problem. Portugal, tucked away in her corner in Europe, had ended her crusade with the Mohammedan by driving him far from her borders in the thirteenth century; and by the victory of Aljubarrota had freed herself from the too solicitous interest of Castile in her welfare in 1385. So in the fifteenth century Portugal alone of European nations had the opportunity and the freedom from other cares to take up the new problem. The old crusading spirit moved the princes and people of the little kingdom to follow the infidel even beyond the bounds of the peninsula, and in 1415 John the Great, the victor of Aljubarrota, carried the crusade against the Moor into Africa, and there won the fortress of Ceuta. Prince Henry the Navigator, then in his twenty-first year, shared in this enterprise, and until his death his crusading zeal for the success of the Christian arms and the extension of the Christian faith never waned, but was coupled with and inspired by his desire to solve the problem of Africa. Punishment of the infidel, conversion of the heathen, and the acquisition of trade and empire for Portugal were the aims of Prince Henry and of all his successors. Prince Henry joined to his princely private fortune the wealth of the Order of Christ of which he was grand master, and in 1418 he turned his back on the rest of the world and settled at Sagres, the promontory at the extreme southwest of Portugal, where he might forever face the problem of the unknown ocean which washed the shores of unexplored Africa—the problem to which the forty-two remaining years of his life were devoted in unremitting toil.

The revival of learning with its awakening of interest in the geography of the ancients revived some old problems. What was the shape of the earth? What was the character and extent of the Atlantic? What about Africa—could there be any foundation for the often-scoffed tradition that Pharaoh Necho had sent an expedition around the continent? Some unknown, for reasons equally unknown, gave one of the answers to this latter question in a chart

of 1351, the "Laurentian Portulan" as it is called, which actually delineated with essential correctness an African coast extending from the Straits of Gibraltar around to the Red Sea. Here then, in theory at least, was a prize to stir the imagination of a keen-minded man and valorous knight like Prince Henry and to nerve him for years of patient, persistent endeavor. Beyond Africa was India, and there might be a sea route thither. Geographer, ship-carpenter, and sailor labored under the wise direction of the prince, who, alone among princes and men, is surnamed the Navigator. Eighteen degrees of African coast line verified was the net result of his two score years of effort. A small beginning indeed, but he had pointed the way, had immensely improved the means for prosecuting the enterprise, and had gathered, trained, and inspired a corps of co-workers and disciples. Not only Portuguese, but also navigators from other lands were included; Columbus, a Genoese, received his training in the service of Alfonso V. and John II. Only the Navigator's princely position enabled him to defray the enormous cost of the years of experiment, and amid the opposition of a superstitious populace, none but a prince, nay, none but the monarch himself might henceforth direct the enterprise. Alfonso V. (1438-1481), surnamed the African, continued his uncle's work and handed it on in turn to his son, John II. (1481-1495), whose political sagacity won him the title of the Perfect. In the twenty-sixth year after the death of Prince Henry, the first great triumph was won by Bartholomew Diaz, who in 1486 pushed farther down the coast of Africa through the Sea of Darkness than his predecessors, rounded the Cape of Storms and finally anchored securely eastward of Africa's southernmost cape, auspiciously christened by John the Perfect, the Cape of Good Hope.

It was December of 1487 when Diaz returned, but already in the previous May, the king had dispatched an expedition in the opposite direction, in anticipation of the success of Diaz, to explore the eastern lands and seas along the Red Sea route, and to find Prester John, the fabled Christian monarch of the East, and secure his coöperation with the Portuguese in their crusading and other enterprises. Covilham and Paiva journeyed together to Aden and there parted, the one for India and the other for Abyssinia to visit Prester John. Covilham, the first Portuguese to visit India, not only came back with tales of this success, but also actually managed on his return voyage to visit the east coast of Africa as far south

as Sofala, almost reaching Diaz's most easterly point. From Cairo in 1490 Covilham sent back this valued report to his monarch and then plunged once more into the East to do the work of his companion who had perished. Jealously guarded as a valued member of the court of Alexander, prince of Abyssinia, he lived for more than thirty years practically a state prisoner.

Though the combined efforts of Covilham and Diaz had fully proved the existence of the long-sought sea route to India, the ultimate prize of actual achievement was yet to be won. An unkind fate snatched this and another splendid prize from the Perfect King. Even before Diaz had set sail, a Genoese adventurer had tried to bargain with the king to find him India by sailing westward. John II., busy with the around-Africa project, gave little heed to the wild scheme of Columbus, and bundled him off to barter his precious plan at other courts. Now delay and misfortune postponed from year to year the expedition that was to crown all the efforts with success, until the afflicted monarch had the humiliation of seeing his Spanish rivals receive from the hands of the despised Genoese, a new world, which for the nonce men imagined to be the Indies. Two years later John the Perfect was gathered to his fathers and his cousin Emmanuel the Fortunate reigned in his stead, when at last on July 8, 1497, Vasco da Gama's long-delayed ships sailed down the Tagus to achieve the first European voyage to India. Portugal's princes alone had borne the burden and heat of the day and the monarchs of Portugal alone reaped the profit. The dynasty of John the Great had set itself the task, and was now to master the problem, and to give Portugal the enjoyment of the rich rewards for just so long as the dynasty of John the Great ruled at Lisbon. Eighty years of effort were to be followed by eighty-two years of full possession and profit. What Henry the Navigator started to find in 1418, Emmanuel the Fortunate's captain discovered in 1498, and Portugal lost after Henry the Cardinal, the last legitimate male heir of John the Great, sank into his grave in 1580.

The Portuguese from the beginning understood that their explorations were opening new questions in world politics, and took steps to legalize fully their claim to the results, actual and potential, of their efforts. International law was an unknown science and the concert of the powers was yet to be imagined. The mediæval theory of the Papacy still swayed the minds even of

monarchs and statesmen, and for them the Pope supplied the place of international law and the concert of great powers. As early as June 18, 1452, and January 8, 1454, Alfonso V. obtained from Pope Nicholas V. bulls granting to Portugal jurisdiction over the African discoveries. The progress of discovery and especially the achievement of Columbus led to a long and exceedingly interesting diplomatic contest between Spain and Portugal over the delimitation of their respective portions of the unknown world which was being revealed. The Bulls of Demarcation issued by Pope Alexander VI. on May 3-4, 1493, the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494, the Badajoz Conference of 1524, and the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529 are the most important stages in the long struggle between Spain and Portugal over the Indies. In general terms, the result was to give the Americas, except Brazil, and the adjoining seas to Spain; while Portugal received Africa, Asia, and Brazil with the adjacent seas.

Thus, as the fifteenth century progressed, the triumphs of the Ottoman Turks were rapidly closing the ancient routes of trade from India to the West, so that the West was feeling more and more keenly how necessary India and her luxurious products were, but by fortunate coincidence the Western knowledge of India was being constantly enlarged and necessity and ambition were furthering the efforts of the Portuguese as they struggled on step by step nearer the goal of the Indies—a goal whose possession they carefully safeguarded by an astute diplomacy. In the fullness of time Vasco da Gama and his three little caravels, the largest being his flagship the *San Gabriel* of 120 tons, followed the course of Diaz around the cape and then obeying the sailing directions received from Covilham arrived safely at Calicut on the Malabar coast of India on May 20, 1498.

From the first, Da Gama encountered hostility from the Moors, or rather Arabs, who monopolized the sea-borne trade; but he seems to have found favor with the Hindu raja of Calicut or zamorin, a Sanskrit title meaning "the son of the sea." An Afghan of the Lodi dynasty was then on the throne of Delhi, and another Afghan king was ruling over Bengal. Ahmadabad formed the seat of a Mohammedan dynasty in Gujarat. The five independent Mohammedan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Ellichpur, Golconda, and Bidar had partitioned out the Deccan. The Hindu raja of Vijayanagar still ruled as paramount in the

1498-1500

south, and was perhaps the most powerful monarch to be found at the time in India, not excepting the Lodi dynasty at Delhi.

After staying nearly six months on the Malabar coast, Da Gama returned to Europe, bearing with him the following letter from the zamorin to the king of Portugal: "Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom and has given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet." The safe arrival of Da Gama at Lisbon was celebrated with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those which had greeted the return of Columbus. If the West Indies belonged to Spain by priority of discovery, Portugal might claim the East Indies by the same right. The Portuguese mind became intoxicated by dreams of a mighty oriental empire.

The early Portuguese navigators were not traders or private adventurers, but admirals with a royal commission to open up a direct commerce with Asia, and to purchase eastern commodities on behalf of the king of Portugal. As the finding of the route to India had been a royal rather than a national enterprise, so the empire gained was a royal possession and its commerce a royal monopoly. Portuguese, both native and naturalized, were allowed to participate in the trade under royal supervision but had to pay a liberal percentage to the king. Lisbon was the *entrepôt* of the Indian trade; but in order to compete with the Italian merchants in northern Europe the Portuguese monarch arranged for a regular trade from Lisbon to Antwerp, which he selected as the northern mart for the Indian wares. The century ending with the Spanish seizure of Antwerp in 1585 was the age of the greatest prosperity of the city. England was supplied with Indian goods from Antwerp chiefly, and it was the occupation and consequent closure of Antwerp to the trade of the Dutch and the English that drove them to enter the direct trade with India.

A second expedition, consisting of thirteen ships and seven hundred soldiers, under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral, was dispatched in 1500. On his outward voyage, Cabral was driven westward by stress of weather, and discovered Brazil.

After leaving Brazil and when approaching the Cape of Good Hope, storms again broke upon the squadron, causing the loss of several vessels and their crews. Among those who perished was

Bartholomew Diaz, who commanded one of the ships. Ultimately Cabral reached Calicut. He established a factory, or agency for the purchase of goods there; but as soon as he left Calicut the factor was murdered by the Mohammedan merchants. In spite of this disaster, he left a factor behind him at Cochin when he returned to Portugal.

In 1502 the king of Portugal obtained from Pope Alexander VI. a bull constituting him "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." In that year Vasco da Gama sailed again to the East, with a fleet numbering twenty vessels. He formed alliances with the rajas of Cochin and Cannanore, and the rani of Quilon, and bombarded the zamorin of Calicut in his palace. In 1503 the great Alfonso de Albuquerque sailed to the East in command of one of three expeditions from Portugal. The Portuguese arrived only just in time to succor the raja of Cochin, who was being besieged by the zamorin of Calicut. They built a fort at Cochin, and, to guard against any future disaster, left 150 Portuguese soldiers under Duarte Pacheco to defend their ally. When they departed, the zamorin, or Hindu raja of Calicut, again attacked Cochin, but he was defeated by Pacheco both by land and sea, and the prestige of the Portuguese was by these victories raised to its height.

In 1505 a large fleet of twenty-two sail with fifteen hundred soldiers was sent under Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy of India. Almeida was the first Portuguese statesman in India to develop a distinct policy. He saw that, in face of the opposition of the Mohammedan merchants, whose monopoly was infringed, it was necessary to fortify factories in India, in which to carry on trade; but he wished these forts to be as few as possible, and that the chief power of Portugal should be on the sea. Almeida had also a new danger to meet. The Mameluke sultan of Egypt perceived that the discovery of the direct sea-route from Europe to India around the Cape of Good Hope was ruining the transit trade through Egypt. He therefore dispatched a fleet to exterminate the Portuguese forces in Asia. The sultan's admiral won a victory off Chaul, in 1508, in which Almeida's son was killed; but on February 2, 1509, the Egyptians were utterly defeated off the Island of Diu. The danger of a general union of the Moslems against the Portuguese was thus averted for the time, and the quarrels between the Turks and Egyptians which ensued

1509-1529

gave time for the Christians to firmly consolidate their power in India.

In 1509, Albuquerque succeeded as governor, and widely extended the area of Portuguese influence. He abandoned the system of Almeida, and resolved to establish a Portuguese empire in India, based on the possession of important points along the coast, and on playing off the native princes against each other. His schemes in India anticipated Dupleix and the English, especially in the use of native troops and in his dealings with native governments. Having failed in an attack upon Calicut, he in 1510 seized Goa, which has since remained the capital of Portuguese India. Then, sailing around Ceylon, he captured Malacca, the key to the navigation of the Indian archipelago, and opened a trade with Siam and the Spice Islands. Lastly, he sailed back westward, and, after penetrating into the Red Sea, and taking Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, returned to Goa, dying in 1515. In 1524 Vasco da Gama came out to the East for the third time, and he too died at Cochin, after a rule of only three months. For exactly a century, from 1500 to 1600, the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of oriental trade. "From Japan² and the Spice Islands to the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope, they were the sole masters and dispensers of the treasures of the East; while their possessions along the Atlantic coast of Africa and in Brazil completed their maritime empire."

The Portuguese had neither the political strength nor the personal character necessary to maintain such an empire. Their national temper had been formed in their contest with the Moors at home. They were not traders, but knights-errant and crusaders, who looked on every pagan as an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. Only those who have read the contemporary narratives of their conquests can realize the superstition and the cruelty with which their history in the Indies is stained.

Albuquerque alone endeavored to conciliate the good will of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes, who were better pleased to have the Portuguese, as firmly governed by him, for their neighbors and allies, than the Mohammedans whom he had expelled or subdued. The justice and magnanimity of his

² This and the following paragraphs are condensed from Sir George Birdwood's official "Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records in the Indian Office," dated November 1, 1878 (folio, 1879)—W. W. Hunter.

rule did as much to extend and confirm the power of the Portuguese in the East, as his courage and the success of his military achievements. In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Mohammedans, were wont to repair to his tomb, and there utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his shade, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors.

Yet these successors were not all tyrants. Some of them were great statesmen; many were gallant soldiers. The names of four of them stand out brightly in the history of the Portuguese in India. Nuno da Cunha, governor from 1529 to 1538, first opened up direct and regular trade with Bengal. After 1518 one ship annually visited Chittagong to purchase merchandise for Portugal; but Da Cunha, hearing of the wealth of the province, and the peaceful, industrious character of its inhabitants, resolved to make a settlement there. He sent 400 Portuguese soldiers to assist the Mohammedan king of Bengal against Sher Shah in 1534, and was intending to follow in person, when important events on the other side of India detained him. His intervention had the effect of causing many Portuguese to settle in Bengal. They were never formed into a regular governorship, but remained in loose dependence upon the captain of Ceylon. Yet they became very prosperous, and their headquarters, Hugli, grew into a wealthy city. After the capture of Hugli by Shah Jahan in 1629, the bravest of the Portuguese in Bengal became outlaws and pirates, and in conjunction with the Arakanese and the Maghs preyed upon the sea-borne commerce of the Bengal coast. The event which prevented Nuno da Cunha from establishing the Portuguese power in Bengal was the approach of a great Turkish and Egyptian fleet. Selim I. had extended the Turkish power by the conquest of Egypt in 1516-1517, and his successor Suleiman the Magnificent prepared to accomplish the task which the sultan of Egypt had attempted thirty years before. The Portuguese were in a better position to resist than they had been in the days of the viceroy Almeida. Nuno da Cunha had obtained possession of the Island of Diu, a place much coveted by Albuquerque, from the king of Gujarat in 1535, and it was there that the storm broke. Besieged by the king of Gujarat by land and by the vast Turkish and Egyptian fleet, Diu stood a terrible siege in 1538; and the defenders at last beat off the assailants. Nuno da Cunha did not live to see this glorious result, for he

1538-1565

was maligned by enemies and sent home in custody, and it was reserved for his successor to relieve Diu.

João de Castro, who ruled from 1545 to 1548, was no unworthy countryman of Albuquerque and Da Cunha. He relieved Diu, which again had to stand a siege by the king of Gujarat, whom he defeated in one of the greatest victories ever won by the Portuguese in India. He had also to defend Goa against the king of Bijapur, and with similar successes. It was not only as a warrior, but also as a statesman, that João de Castro won his fame. In the three short years of his government he tried to reform the errors of the Portuguese colonial system. The trade of India was a royal monopoly, and crowds of officials lived by speculation and corruption in order to enhance their salaries from the crown. João de Castro endeavored to cleanse the Augean stable, and by his own upright character set a shining example to his compatriots. It was during his rule that the Portuguese, in addition to being a trading and a governing power, became a proselytizing power. Hitherto Catholic priests had come to India to tend the souls of the Portuguese, but now began the era of missions to the heathen. This development of missionary effort was largely due to the inspiring exertions of Saint Francis Xavier, who was Castro's intimate friend. Francis Xavier was born in Navarre in 1506, was educated at the University of Paris, and in 1534-1540 joined with Ignatius of Loyola in founding the Society of Jesus. He reached Goa in 1542 and died in 1552 when on his way to China. He is known as the Apostle of the Indies. The Jesuits followed the missionary pioneer of their order, and the whole authority of the Portuguese government was practically placed at the disposal of the Christian missionaries after this epoch.

Constantino de Braganza, a prince of the royal house of Portugal, attempted, and not without some success, to take up the task which had proved too hard for De Castro, during his rule from 1558 to 1561; but he is better remembered as the conqueror of Daman, one of the places still belonging to Portugal. Luis de Athaide, who was viceroy from 1568 to 1571, and from 1578 to 1581, had during his first viceroyalty to meet a formidable league of opponents. The defeat of the Hindu raja of Vijayanagar at Talikot in 1565, left the Mohammedan princes of the Deccan at liberty to act against the Portuguese. A great league was formed by them, which included even the half-savage king of Achin. All

the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast as well as Malacca were besieged by overwhelming forces, but the Portuguese commanders rose to the occasion. Everywhere they were triumphant. The viceroy, in 1570, defended Goa for ten months against the king of Bijapur, and eventually repulsed him; the undisciplined Indian troops were unable to stand against the veteran soldiers of Portugal; 200 of them, at Malacca, routed 15,000 natives with artillery. When, in 1578, Malacca was again besieged by the king of Achin, the small Portuguese garrison destroyed 10,000 of his men, and all the Achin cannon and junks. Twice again, in 1615 and for the last time in 1628, Malacca was besieged, and on each occasion the Achinese were repulsed with equal bravery. The increased military forces sent out to resist these attacks proved, however, an insupportable drain on the revenues and population of Portugal.

In 1580 the Portuguese crown was united with that of Spain, under Philip II., who made and kept a promise to appoint none but Portuguese to office in the East. The union with Spain proved the ruin of the maritime and commercial supremacy of Portugal in the East. The interests of Portugal in Asia were henceforth subordinated to the European interests of Spain; and the enemies of Spain, the Dutch and the English, preyed on the Portuguese as well as on the Spanish commerce. In 1640 Portugal again became a separate kingdom, but in the meanwhile the Dutch and English had appeared in the Eastern seas; and before their indomitable competition the Portuguese empire of the Indies withered away as rapidly as it had sprung up. The period of the highest development of Portuguese commerce was probably from 1590 to 1610, on the eve of the subversion of their commercial power by the Dutch, and when their political administration in India was at its lowest depth of degradation. At this period a single fleet of Portuguese merchantmen sailing from Goa to Cambay or Surat would number as many as 150 or 250 carracks. Now, only one Portuguese ship sails from Lisbon to Goa in the year.

The Dutch besieged Goa in 1603, and again in 1639. Both attacks were unsuccessful on land; but the Portuguese were gradually driven off the sea. In 1683 the Marathas plundered to the gates of Goa, and in 1739 they sacked Bassein, the northern capital. The further history of the Portuguese in India is a miserable chronicle of pride, poverty, and sounding titles. The native

1683-1800

princes pressed upon them from the land. On the sea they gave way to more vigorous European nations.

The only remaining Portuguese possessions in India are Goa, Daman, and Diu, all on the west coast, with a total area of 1638 square miles, and a total population of 531,798 in 1900.

About 30,000 so-called Portuguese half-castes are found in Bombay, and 20,000 in Bengal, chiefly in the neighborhood of Dacca and Chittagong. The latter are known as Firinghis; and, excepting that they retain European surnames and the Catholic faith, they are scarcely to be distinguished either by color, language or habits of life from the natives among whom they live. Their complexion is in many cases darker than that of the surrounding Indian population; and, as a rule, they are a thriftless, feeble class.

Nor do the Portuguese succeed in obtaining any share worth mentioning in the modern trade of British India. While French and Germans are taking advantage of the commercial activity of British rule in the East to enter on Indian commercial enterprise in increasing numbers, the few Portuguese traders or employees born in Portugal and resorting to British India are decreasing. Their total which amounted to 426 in 1872, had fallen to 133 in 1881, and was returned at 149 by the census of 1891. The efforts by the British government to establish a commercial solidarity of interest with Portugal in India have not worked out with entire success. The construction of a railroad to a large extent with British private capital, and under the supervision of private British engineers, designed to connect the port of Marmagao, the main Portuguese settlement of Goa, with the interior of India led, about 1885, to a customs treaty being negotiated, which placed the Goa and the British systems on a fairly homogeneous basis. After some years, however, the Portuguese declined to renew their engagements so that they were left in a state of political and commercial isolation in India. More recently the relations have grown more intimate, and in 1902, while the total imports were \$1,442,041 and the exports \$356,757, the transit trade with British India was valued at \$3,545,532.

The Dutch were the first European nation who broke through the Portuguese monopoly. The Dutch war for independence closed the ports of Spain, including Lisbon, to the Dutch, and forced them into the direct trade with India. The war with Spain and

the closing of Lisbon and Antwerp compelled the English also to enter directly into the Indian trade. During the sixteenth century Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporiums whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany, and even to England. At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing around the northern coast of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honorably known as the leader of three of these Arctic expeditions.

John Huyghen van Linschoten of Haarlem dwelt at Goa from 1583 to 1589 in the train of the Portuguese archbishop, and published in 1595-1596 a narrative valuable for a guide and which was translated into English in 1598 and into other languages.

The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596. Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces; but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the States-General into the Dutch East India Company. Within fifty years the Dutch had established factories on the continent, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession of the Moluccas or Spice Islands. The first Dutch settlement in India was at Pulicat, about 20 miles north of Madras, in 1609. The Dutch settled at Surat in 1618. In 1619 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia, in Java, as the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna in the Moluccas. At about the same time the Dutch discovered the coast of Australia (1606-1644); while in North America they founded the city of New Amsterdam, now New York, in 1613-1626.

During the seventeenth century the Dutch were the foremost maritime power in the world. Their memorable massacre of the English at Amboyna, in 1623, forced the British Company to retire from the eastern archipelago to the continent of India and thus led to the foundation of England's Indian empire. The long naval wars and the bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two countries in 1689. In the eastern archipelago the Dutch ruled without a rival, and expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. A portion of

1634-1800

the Island of Timor is the only relic which Portugal retains of her former empire in the Indian archipelago.

In 1634 the Dutch began to visit Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca, a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1647 they were trading at Sadras, on the Coromandel coast about 40 miles south of Madras; in 1652 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1652 they built their Indian factory at Palakollu, on the Godavari delta on the Madras coast; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Between 1661 and 1664 the Dutch wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements south of Goa on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar; and in 1669 they expelled the Portuguese from St. Thomé in Madras, and from Macassar in Celebes.

The fall of the Dutch colonial empire resulted from its shortsighted commercial policy. It was deliberately based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitute of sound economical principles. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty toward their rivals in commerce; but, unlike the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce their civilization among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1759 he attacked the Dutch both by land and water at Chinsurah, now part of the town of Hugli on the Hugli River, a short distance above Calcutta, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. During the great French wars between 1795 and 1811 England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies. At the close of the Napoleonic wars many of the Dutch colonies in the East were restored by the English, but during the next decade various readjustments were effected. By the eighth article of the treaty signed at London on March 17, 1824, the Dutch ceded to the English all their establishments on the continent of India. This treaty also arranged the exchange of English claims in Sumatra, and other islands of the eastern archipelago for Malacca and Singapore; and defined the mutual relations of the English and Dutch in the East politically and commercially. This treaty, supplemented by more recent clauses concerning Sumatra, Borneo, and New Guinea, is still in force. At present, the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India, but quaint houses, Dutch tiles, and carvings, at Chinsurah, Negapatam, Jaffnapatam,

and at petty ports on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, with the formal canals in some of these old settlements, remind the traveler of scenes in the Netherlands. In the census of 1872 only 70 Dutchmen were enumerated throughout all British India, 78 in 1881, and 119 in 1891.

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the Northwest Passage. In 1496 Henry VII. granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons, one of whom was the famous Sebastian, to fit out two ships for the exploration of this route. They failed, but discovered the Island of Newfoundland, in 1497, and in later years made other voyages to those coasts. In 1553 the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which was reserved for a Swedish savant, Nordenskjöld, in 1878-1879. Sir Hugh perished miserably; but his second in command, Chancellor, reached a harbor, now Archangel, on the White Sea. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the tsar, Ivan the Terrible, at Moscow, and laid the foundation of "the Russia company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow."

Many English attempts were made to find a northwest passage to the East Indies, from 1576 to 1616. They have left on modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate, one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves which it produced.

The first modern Englishman known to have visited the Indian peninsula was Thomas Stephens, in 1579. William of Malmesbury states, indeed, that in 883 Sighelmus of Sherborne, sent by King Alfred to Rome with presents to the Pope, proceeded thence to "India," to the tomb of Saint Thomas. The tomb of Saint Thomas was at Edessa, now Urfa in northern Mesopotamia, according to the tradition of the early church. He brought back jewels and spices; but it by no means follows that the "India" of William of Malmesbury meant the Indian peninsula. Stephens was educated at New College, Oxford, and became rector of the Jesuit college in Salsette near Bombay. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

1583-1599

In 1583 three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shop-keeper at Goa; Leedes entered the service of the Great Mogul; and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England in 1591.

The voyage of Drake was followed by another voyage around the world by Thomas Cavendish in 1586-1588, returning to England just after the defeat of the Armada. In 1591 was fitted out the first English expedition to sail around the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean. One of the vessels, the *Edward Bonaventure*, Captain James Lancaster, visited India and various neighboring coasts and finally returned to England in 1594 with a valuable cargo. The Muscovy or Russia Company organized in 1554 and the Turkey or Levant Company chartered in 1581 both reckoned on drawing some trade from India by the two overland routes, so that there was a slowness in taking up the scheme of direct sea trade. Elizabeth's diplomacy, also, was tortuous, so that the accounts of Stephens, Fitch, and Lancaster were not permitted to have the immediate effect in England that Linschoten's had in the Netherlands.

The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, at which time the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England and the successful voyage of the Dutch Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way around the Cape of Good Hope, into waters hitherto almost entirely monopolized by the Portuguese. Not entirely, for a renegade Portuguese, Magellan, had led a Spanish expedition around South America to the Philippine Islands, where he was murdered in 1521. One of the vessels returned by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, completing the first circumnavigation of the globe. This was followed by a series of Spanish voyages, especially from Mexico to the Philippines and vicinity. Legazpi, sent out by the viceroy of Mexico, established Spanish control in the Philippines between 1564 and 1571.

In 1597-1599 the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the East, raised the price of pepper against the English from three shillings per pound to six shillings and even to eight

shillings. The merchants of London held a meeting on September 22, 1599, at Founders' Hall, with the lord mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an association for the purposes of trading directly with India. Some of the merchants sent John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the Great Mogul with letters from Queen Elizabeth to apply for privileges for an English company. On December 31, 1600, the English East India Company was incorporated by royal charter under the title of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The original company had only 125 shareholders, and a capital of 68,373*l.* (\$332,300), which was raised to 429,000*l.* (\$2,085,000), in 1612-1613, when voyages were undertaken on the so-called first joint-stock account. Perhaps the most active of the merchants in promoting the organization of the Company was Richard Staper. The first governor of the new Company was Thomas Smith, or Smythe, who was born about 1558, knighted in 1603, and died in 1625. Both of these merchants had earlier been founders of the Levant Company, and Smith was later treasurer of the London Virginia Company.

Courten's Association, known as "the Assada Merchants," from a factory subsequently founded by it in Madagascar, was established in 1635, but, after a period of internecine rivalry, was united with the London company in 1650. This company was composed chiefly of Sir William Courten (1572-1636), and Sir Paul Pindar (c. 1565-1650), two wealthy London merchants who had made large loans to Charles I.; and Endymion Porter (1587-1649), a groom of the bedchamber to Charles I. On Courten's death his privileges were continued to his younger son, William Courten (d. 1655).

In 1654-1655, the "Company of Merchant Adventurers" obtained a charter from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the original company two years later. The final merger of the Association and of the Merchant Adventurers with the East India Company was effected by Cromwell's new charter to the East India Company on October 19, 1657. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the "General Society," or English Company, trading to the East Indies, which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of two millions sterling (\$9,720,000). According to Evelyn, in his "Diary" for March 5, 1698, "the old East India Company lost their business against the new Company by ten votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being

1600-1608

absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs." However, a compromise was speedily effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin in 1702, and the London and the English Companies were finally amalgamated in 1709, under style of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." About the same time the Company increased its loans to the English government to an aggregate of 3,200,000*l.* (\$15,552,000), at 5 per cent. interest, in return for the exclusive privilege of the trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. The Company had not only to face incorporated rivals from time to time, but it had also to contend with "interlopers," or private, independent trading adventurers whose methods tended to piracy, during the whole period of their trade monopoly. The first of these was Michelborne, and the notorious Captain Kidd was one of the piratical interlopers.

The early voyages of the Company from 1600 to 1612 are distinguished as the "separate voyages," twelve in number. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612, the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account, which differed, however, from the modern understanding of that term. The joint-stock method did not approximate the modern plan until Cromwell's charter of 1657, and did not come into full operation in the modern sense until the formation of the United Company in 1708.

The English were promptly opposed by the Portuguese, but James Lancaster (knighted 1603; died 1618), even in the first voyage in 1601-1602, established commercial relations with the king of Achin and at Priaman in the Island of Sumatra; as well as with the Moluccas, and at Bantam in Java, where he settled a "house of trade" in 1603. In 1604 the Company undertook their second voyage, commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, who extended their trade to Banda and Amboyna. The success of these voyages attracted a number of private merchants to the business; and in 1606 James I. granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade "to Cathay, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya." Michelborne, on arriving in the East, instead of exploring new sources of commerce like the East India Company, followed the pernicious example of the Portuguese, and plundered the native traders among the islands

of the Indian archipelago. He in this way secured a considerable booty, but brought disgrace on the British name, and seriously hindered the Company's business at Bantam.

In 1608 Captain David Middleton, in command of the fifth voyage, was prevented by the Dutch from trading at Banda, but succeeded in obtaining a cargo at Pulo Way, in the Moluccas. In this year also, Captain William Hawkins proceeded from Surat, as envoy from James I. and the East India Company, to the court of the Great Mogul. He was graciously received by the Emperor Jahangir, and remained three years at Agra. In 1609 Captain Sharpay obtained the grant of free trade at Aden, and a cargo of pepper at Priaman in Sumatra. In 1609 also, the Company constructed the dockyard at Deptford, which was the beginning, observes Sir William Monson, "of the increase of great ships in England." In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton, in command of the sixth voyage, arrived before Cambay. He resolutely fought the Portuguese, who tried to beat him off, and obtained important concessions from the native powers. In 1610-1611 also, Captain Hippon, commanding the seventh voyage, established agencies at Pettipollee, now Nizampatam, and at Masulipatam, and in Siam at Patania or Patany on the eastern coast of the Malay peninsula.

In 1612 the Company's fleet, under Captain Best, was attacked off Swally, the port of Surat, at the mouth of the River Tapti, by an overwhelming force of Portuguese; but the assailants were utterly defeated in four engagements, to the astonishment of the natives, who had hitherto considered them invincible. The first-fruit of this decisive victory was the leave obtained by Thomas Aldworth from the Mogul governor to establish an English factory at Surat, with subordinate agencies at the neighboring towns of Gogo, Ahmadabad, and Cambay. Trade was also opened with the Persian Gulf. In 1614 an agency was established at Ajmere by Mr. Edwards of the Surat factory. In 1615 Captain Downton inflicted another defeat on the Portuguese near Surat. The chief seat of the Company's government in western India remained at Surat until 1684-1687, when it was transferred to Bombay.

In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. as ambassador to the court of Jahangir, and succeeded in placing the Company's trade in the Mogul dominions on a more favorable footing. From the days of Roe until the time of Sir John Child, the English theory was that of "quiet trade" in the Mogul dominions. No fortifica-

1615-1620

tions or garrisons were established at the factories or agencies in the Mogul empire, but entire dependence was placed on the Mogul authorities for protection. When the protection ceased to be efficient, with the beginning of the Maratha raids and the break-up of the Mogul empire, the "quiet trade" theory had to give place to the imperial ideas of the Childs.

In 1618 the English established a factory at Mocha; but the Dutch were compelling them to resign all pretensions to the Spice Islands. In that year also, the Company failed in its attempt to open a trade on the Malabar coast with Dabhol, Baticala, and Calicut, through a want of sincerity on the part of the zamorin, or Calicut raja. In 1619 the English were permitted to establish a factory and build a fort at Jask, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf.

In 1619 the "Treaty of Defense" with the Dutch, to prevent disputes between the English and Dutch Companies, was ratified. When it was proclaimed in the East, the Dutch and English fleets, dressed out in all their flags, and with yards manned, saluted each other; but the treaty ended in the smoke of that stately salutation, and the perpetual strife between the Dutch and English Companies went on as bitterly as ever. Up to this time the English Company did not possess any territory in sovereign right in the Indies, excepting the Island of Lantore, or Great Banda in the Moluccas. The island was governed by a commercial agent of the Company, who had under him thirty Europeans as clerks and warehousemen. This little band, with 250 armed Malays, constituted the only force by which it was protected. In the Islands of Banda and Pulo Roon and Rosengyn in the Moluccas, the English Company had factories, at each of which were ten agents. At Macassar in Celebes and Achin in Sumatra, they possessed agencies; the whole being subordinate to a head factory at Bantam in Java.

In 1620 the Dutch, notwithstanding the Treaty of Defense concluded the previous year, expelled the English from Pulo Roon and Lantore; and in 1621 from Bantam in Java. The fugitive factors tried to establish themselves first at Pulicat, and afterward at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, but were effectually opposed by the Dutch. In 1620 the Portuguese also attacked the English fleet under Captain Shilling off the Persian coast, but were defeated with great loss. From this time the estimation in which the Portuguese were held by the natives declined, while that of the English rose. In 1620, too, the English Company established

agencies at Agra and Patna. In 1622, they joined with the Persians, attacked and took Ormuz from the Portuguese, and obtained from Shah Abbas a grant in perpetuity of the customs of Gombroon (Bandar Abbas). This was the first time that the English took the offensive against the Portuguese. In the same year, 1622, the English Company succeeded in reestablishing their factory at Masulipatam.

The massacre of Amboyna, which made so deep an impression on the English mind, marked the climax of the Dutch hatred to the English in the eastern seas. After long and bitter recriminations, the Dutch seized Captain Towerson, with 9 Englishmen, 9 Japanese, and one Portuguese sailor, on February 17, 1623. They tortured the prisoners at their trial, and found them guilty of a conspiracy to surprise the garrison. The victims were executed in the heat of passion, and their torture and judicial murder led to an outburst of indignation in England.

Ultimately commissioners were appointed to adjust the claims of the two nations; and the Dutch had to pay a sum of 3615*l.* (\$17,570) as satisfaction to the heirs of those who had suffered; but from that time the Dutch remained masters of Lantore and the neighboring islands. They monopolized the trade of the whole Indian archipelago until the great naval wars which commenced in 1793. In 1624 the English, unable to oppose the Dutch, withdrew nearly all their factories from the archipelago, the Malay peninsula, Siam, and Java. Some of the factors and agents retired to the Island of Lagundy, in the Strait of Sunda, but were forced by its unhealthfulness to abandon it.

Driven out of the eastern archipelago by the Dutch, and thus almost cut off from the lucrative spice trade, the English betook themselves in earnest to founding settlements on the Indian sea-board. In 1625-1626 the English established a factory at Armagaon, now Durgarayapatnam, about seventy miles north of Madras on the Coromandel coast, subordinate to Masulipatam; but in 1628 Masulipatam was, in consequence of the oppressions of the native governors, for a time abandoned in favor of Armagaon, which now mounted 12 guns, and had 23 factors and agents. In 1628 the factory at Bantam in Java was reestablished, and in 1630 made an agency subordinate to Surat; in the same year Armagaon, reinforced by 20 soldiers, was also placed under the presidency of Surat. In 1632 the English factory was reestablished at Masulipatam,

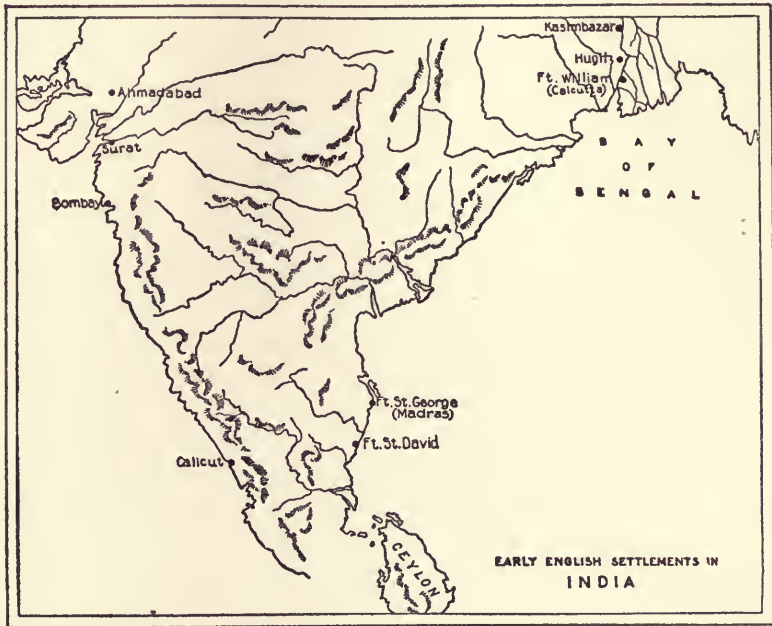
1632-1640

under a grant, the "golden firman," from the king of Golconda. In 1634, by a firman dated February 2, the Company obtained from the Great Mogul liberty to trade in Bengal, but their ships were to resort only to Pippli in Orissa, now left far inland by the sea. The Portuguese were about the same date expelled for a time from Bengal. English trade with Bengal was opened by Ralph Cartwright and others who made a voyage from Masulipatam to the Orissa coast, where they obtained from the Mogul governor of Orissa a grant of trading privileges dated May 5, 1633. Cartwright immediately established a factory at Balasor, which had a precarious existence until the nawab of Bengal confirmed the English trading privileges in those regions about 1650.

In 1634-1635 the English factory at Bantam in Java was again raised to an independent presidency, and an agency was established at Tatta, or "Scindy," on the Indus delta. In 1637 Courten's Association, chartered in 1635, settled agencies at Goa, Baticala, Karwar, and Rajapur, on the Malabar coast and at Achin in Sumatra. Its ships had the year before plundered some native vessels at Surat and Diu. This act disgraced the Company with the Mogul authorities, who could not comprehend the distinction between the Company and the Association; and depressed the English trade with Surat, while that of the Dutch proportionately increased.

In 1638 Armagaon was abandoned as unsuited for commerce; and in 1639 Fort Saint George, or Madraspatam or Chennapatam, was founded by Francis Day, and the factors at Armagaon were removed to it. It was made subordinate to Bantam in Java, until raised in 1653 to the rank of a presidency. Chennapatam is the native name, while Madraspatam or Madras has become the English name. The site was purchased from the raja of Chandragiri, a descendant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, and was the first territorial possession of the English in India. In 1640 the Company established an agency at Bussorah at the head of the Persian Gulf, and a factory at Karwar on the Malabar coast. Trade having much extended, the Company's yard at Deptford was found too small for their ships, and they purchased some copyhold ground at Blackwall, which was at that time a waste marsh, without an inhabitant. Here they opened another dockyard, in which was built the *Royal George*, of 1200 tons, the largest ship up to that time constructed in England.

The English factory at Hugli in Bengal was established in 1650. At about the same time, in consequence of professional services rendered by Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the *Hopewell*, to the Mogul governor of Bengal, concessions were made to the Company which placed the factories at Balasor and Hugli on a more favorable footing. In 1647 Courten's Association established its colony at Assada, in Madagascar. In 1652 England declared war against the Dutch on account of their accumulated injuries against the



English Company. In 1658 the Company established a factory at Kasimbazar, spelled Castle Bazaar in the records, near the head of the Ganges delta, and adjacent to Murshidabad, the residence of the nawabs of Bengal from 1704 onward, and the English establishments in Bengal were made subordinate to Fort Saint George, or Madras, instead of to Bantam.

In 1661 Bombay was ceded to the British crown as part of the dower of Catharine of Braganza, but was not delivered up until 1665. King Charles II. transferred it to the East India Company, for an annual payment of ten pounds, in 1668. The seat of

1665-1686

the western presidency was removed to it from Surat in 1684-1687.

The Company's establishments in the East Indies thus consisted in 1668 of the presidency of Bantam in Java, with its dependencies of Jambi in Sumatra, Macassar in Celebes, and minor agencies in the Indian archipelago; Fort Saint George and its dependent factories on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal; Surat with its affiliated dependency of Bombay; and factories at Broach, Ahmada-bad, and other places in India; also at Gombroon, or Bandar Abbas, and Bussorah in the Persian Gulf and Euphrates Valley. In 1664 Surat was pillaged by the Maratha Sivaji, but Sir George Oxenden bravely defended the English factory; and the Mogul emperor, in admiration of his conduct, granted the Company an exemption from customs for one year. In 1651 the Company had occupied the Island of Saint Helena in the South Atlantic, and after twice losing it to the Dutch reconquered it in 1673 and received the grant of it by royal charter. The island remained in possession of the Company until 1834 with the exception of the period of Napoleon's exile.

In 1681 Bengal was separated from Madras, and Mr., afterward Sir, William Hedges, arrived at Hugli, the chief Bengal factory, in July, 1682, as the newly appointed "agent and governor" of the Company's affairs "in the Bay of Bengal," and of the factories subordinate to it, at Kasimbazar, Patna, Balasor, Maldah, and Dacca. With him came a corporal of approved fidelity, with twenty soldiers, to be a guard to the agent's person at the factory of Hugli, and to act against interlopers. Mr. Hedges's "Diary," from the signing of his commission in November, 1681, to his return to England in April, 1687, has been edited, with valuable notes and commentaries, by the late Sir Henry Yule, and presents a very remarkable picture of life and government in India at the close of the seventeenth century. In 1684, at the termination of Hedges's governorship, Bengal reverted to the control of Madras until 1700, when it finally became an independent presidency. In 1686 Kasimbazar, in common with the other factories in Bengal, had been condemned to confiscation by the nawab, Shaista Khan, who presumed upon his relationship to the Mogul imperial family to act with great independence and show of authority during the absence of Aurangzeb on his long campaign in southern India. The Hugli factory was much oppressed, and finally on December 20, 1686, the

Company's agent, Job Charnock, and the council were forced by the exactions of the nawab to quit the factory and retire down the river to Sutanati, now Calcutta. Broken in spirit by the oppressions of the Moguls, the Company resolved to abandon the factories in Bengal. In 1688 Captain Heath of the *Resolution*, in command of the Company's forces, embarked all its servants and goods, sailed down the Hugli, and anchored off Balasor on the Orissa coast. In February, 1690, the Company made terms with the Moguls and secured an imperial firman renewing all their rights of trade. Charnock, acting upon this, secured from the new nawab a renewal of the old arrangements, but instead of establishing the Company's capital in Bengal at Hugli as of old, he selected Sutanati, where he had tarried in 1686, and on August 24, 1690, arrived there and laid the foundation of Calcutta as the new capital of the English in Bengal. After two years and a half of bitter hardships Charnock died, but his work had been done and the English interests had been placed upon a secure foundation and prospered continuously from that time.

The foundation of Calcutta as a fortified factory of the Company was only one instance of the important change in the Company's affairs at this date. The wars of Aurangzeb in southern India and the raids of the Marathas had made it clear to a few keen observers that the disruption of the Mogul empire was imminent, and that the Company must take measures to consolidate its interests in places which could be fortified to advantage and which should be fully accessible to the Company's ships at all times. This had determined the location of Calcutta. Madras had been similarly located by Francis Day, but the other stations on the Coromandel coast were not located with reference to defensibility and so fell victims of native raids as did Vizagapatam and Masulipatam in 1689. In 1683 trade had been opened at Cuddalore, a hundred miles below Madras, and the advantage of the position led to the establishment by the Company of Fort Saint David or Tegnapatam just north of the town as another fortified factory on this coast. Elihu Yale, a native of New England and later the benefactor of Yale College, was the governor of Madras at this time (1687-1692). Mention should also be made of his predecessor, Sir Streyntsham Master (1677-1681) and of his successor, Thomas Pitt (1698-1709), the grandfather of the Earl of Chatham, as governors whose strong personalities and valuable

1662-1690

services have left an impress upon the history of the English in India.

During this critical period, when the Company's position on the eastern coast of India was undergoing reconstruction and when the Company was finally driven from the Indian archipelago by the Dutch, who captured Bantam in 1682, a similar crisis developed in the Company's affairs on the western coast of India. Surat was open to constant raids by the Marathas and was beyond the protection of the guns of the Company's ships, and the other factories were no better placed, while Bombay was not safe from Mogul and Maratha fleets, and was moreover the scene of insurrection led by the third member of council, Richard Keigwin, an officer of the royal navy, from December, 1683, to November, 1684. The Company's interests on this coast were, however, in the hands of strong men with the genius and courage necessary to cope with the conditions. Sir George Oxenden, who had been president at Surat since 1662 and had taken over the governorship of Bombay on its acquisition by the Company in 1668, died at Surat in 1669 and was succeeded in the double office by Gerald Aungier, who laid the foundations of Bombay's importance. When Aungier died in the harness at Surat in 1677, no worthy successor appeared until John Child assumed the duties of governor and general in October, 1681. Though frequently called governor-general in the contemporary documents, and after 1686 possessing authority over all the English settlements in India, Sir John Child never had the official title of governor-general.

The Keigwin revolt at Bombay led Charles II. to support the Company in the appointment of Child as admiral and captain-general of the Company's forces on land and sea, with orders to suppress the rebellion and to remove the headquarters from Surat to Bombay. Order was reestablished at Bombay in 1684, and in 1687 Child, who had been knighted two years before, completed the removal of the presidency to Bombay which has since remained the capital of the British on the western coast. Child dealt with the interlopers in no lenient manner; and toward the natives, whether Maratha or Mogul, he carried out a strong and consistent policy. His early years had been spent in the country of the Marathas so that he understood their power and their position. He saw the peril of the Mogul empire and dared to adopt toward it a policy of hostility that amounted to war, in order to enforce his

demands on behalf of the Company; but in February, 1690, he was fain to demand peace from Aurangzeb, who renewed the Company's trading privileges on condition of Child's dismissal. Child had already died at Bombay on the 4th of that month. Thanks to the efficient services of men like Child and Charnock the English in India had weathered the period of storm and stress and had successfully laid the foundations of England's power at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the three presidency towns around which the empire of the British in India was to be built up in the two succeeding centuries.

It must be confessed that the government in London and the directors of the Company there resident had, in general, but little conception of the problems which faced their subordinates in India and were puzzled to understand what relation building fortifications and fighting Moguls or Marathas had to buying and selling goods for the Company. Fortunately, at the crucial moment, there was in control of the Company in London a man who had the political insight which the moment demanded. This was Sir Josia Child, born in 1630, the son of a London merchant. After being mayor of Portsmouth, where he had been in the naval stores business, he purchased Wanstead Abbey, now a part of the London park system. In 1674 he became a director of the East India Company and held that office with the exception of 1676 until his death in 1699. He was created a baronet in 1678. Though the change from a commercial to an imperial policy is generally attributed to the Childs, they were not solely responsible for it, and had at first given their support to the old theory. Sir Josia Child seems to have been the largest single stockholder in the East India Company and to have been able to control a considerable number of other shares, so that for several years he was able to dominate the Company's councils, to the intense disgust of the minority interests and of the interlopers. Sir Josia was a vigorous and original thinker on economic and political problems, as his writings and acts testify, and the mutual coöperation of the two brilliant and aggressive brothers, Sir Josia in London as a director of the Company continuously from 1677 to 1699 and as the governor of the Company in 1681-1682 and 1686-1687, and Sir John in Bombay as governor and general from 1681 to 1690, is shown not only in the results already indicated, but also in the statements of the Company's policy made during this decade.

1684-1699

Two or three quotations from the letters of the court of directors must suffice to indicate this new policy of the Company. On July 2, 1684, they wrote, "Though our business is only trade and security, not conquest which the Dutch have aimed at, we dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks . . . where we have not the security of a fort." On December 12, 1687, they wrote to the council at Madras that they look to them, "in a most especiall manner" to "establish such a Politie of civill and military power, and create and secure such a large Revenue as may bee the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure ENGLISH DOMINION IN INDIA FOR ALL TIME TO COME;" and yet they add on August 27 of the next year, "we would have you do no wrong or violence to any in amity with us . . . JUST AND STOUT is the motto we hope to deserve and wear." In 1689, England placed on the throne William of Orange, stadtholder of the United Netherlands, and Mary Stuart his wife, and adopted the Bill of Rights; and on September 11 of that year the court of directors wrote to Sir John Child and his council: "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India. Without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us. And upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade." The subsequent history of the English East India Company and its settlements will be narrated in the next chapter.

The Portuguese at no time attempted to found a company, but kept their eastern trade as a royal enterprise and monopoly. The first incorporated company was the English, established in 1600, which was quickly followed by the Dutch in 1602. The Dutch conquests, however, were made in the name of the state, and ranked as national colonies, not as semi-commercial possessions. Next came the French, whose first East India Company was founded in 1604; the second in 1611; the third in 1615; the fourth, Richelieu's, in 1642, and the fifth, Colbert's, in 1664. The early French Companies consisted of trading adventurers, who left no establishments in India; and when, after the troublous period of the Fronde, Louis

XIV. was firmly seated on the throne of France, it was to the Island of Bourbon or Réunion and Madagascar that the king's ministers looked for a field for commercial expansion. The Island of Bourbon was occupied about 1650, and an attempt was made to form settlements in Madagascar. Colbert, however, hoped to win a share in the profitable India trade, and the fifth French East India Company was founded by him in 1664, with the intention of rivaling the success of the English and the Dutch in India itself. Pondicherry was acquired by François Martin in 1674, and Chandernagar, on the Hugli about 25 miles above Calcutta and just below Hugli and Chinsurah, in 1688; but want of support from France brought the Company's affairs in India to a very low ebb, and the Company felt obliged to cede its right of monopoly to some enterprising merchants of Saint-Malo. The brilliant schemes of Law drew fresh attention to the Indian trade, and the powers, possessions, and assets of Colbert's Company were taken over by his great Company of the West, which is chiefly remembered by its project of developing the colony of Louisiana in America. On the downfall of Law, a sixth East India Company was formed by the union of the French East and West India, Senegal, and China Companies, under the name of "The Perpetual Company of the Indies," in 1719. The exclusive privileges of this Company were, by the French king's decree, suspended in 1769; and the Company was finally abolished by the National Assembly in 1790.

In February, 1701, Pondicherry was made the capital of the French settlements in India, and François Martin was appointed president of the superior council and director general of French affairs in India. Martin died December 30, 1706, and his successors as governors-general of the French Indies assumed office as follows: Dulivier, January 1, 1707; Hébert, July, 1708; Dulivier, again, October, 1713; Hébert, again, 1715; La Provostière, August 19, 1718; Lenoir, October, 1721; Beauvallier de Courchant, October 6, 1723; Lenoir, again, September 4, 1726; Benoit Dumas, September 19, 1735; Joseph Dupleix, October, 1741; Godeheu, August 2, 1754; Duval de Leyrit, March 25, 1755. Pondicherry was captured by the English on January 16, 1761; and since then the French colonies in India have been unimportant. Dumas and Dupleix first conceived the idea of founding an Indian empire upon the ruins of the Mogul dynasty; and for a time the French nation successfully contended with the English for the supremacy in the East. In each

1612-1772

of the great European wars beginning with the War of the League of Augsburg in 1688, but more fully with the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740, and ending with the Napoleonic wars in 1815, France was opposed by England and in several instances also by the Dutch. Each of these wars had a counterpart in struggles in India. The crucial test was the Seven Years' War, which ruined the French empire in India.

The French settlements in India have an area of about 196 square miles and a population of 273,185 in 1901, and are five in number, Pondicherry, Karikal, Chandernagar, Mahé, and Yanam. Karikal is on the Coromandel coast about 75 miles south of Pondicherry; Yanam is on the same coast on the Godavari delta; and Mahé is on the Malabar coast a few miles from Tellicherry. The imports in 1902 amounted to more than \$800,000 and the exports to more than \$5,500,000. The French government is obliged to make an annual subvention to meet the deficit in the budget of its Indian possessions.

The first Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and the second in 1670. The settlements of Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast about 150 miles south of Madras, and just north of Karikal, and Serampur on the Hugli about 15 miles above Calcutta, were both founded in 1616, and acquired by the English by purchase from Denmark in 1845. Tranquebar was the seat of the first Protestant mission in India, founded in 1706 by the Lutherans, Ziegenbalz and Plütschau; and Serampur was the scene of the labors of William Carey and other famous Baptist missionaries. Other Danish settlements on the mainland of India were Porto Novo on the Coromandel coast about 120 miles south of Madras; with Eddova and Holcheri on the Malabar coast. The Company started by the Scotch—"The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies"—incorporated by the Scottish parliament, June 26, 1695, may be regarded as having been stillborn. Its chief promoter was William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England. Its only undertaking was the ill-fated Darien colony in America.

The "Royal Company of the Philippine Islands," incorporated by the king of Spain in 1733, had little to do with India proper.

Of more importance was the Ostend Company, incorporated by the Holy Roman emperor in 1722; its factors and agents being chiefly persons who had served in the Dutch and English Companies. This enterprise forms the subject of Carlyle's "Third

Shadow Hunt" of the Emperor Charles VI. "The Kaiser's Imperial Ostend East India Company, which convulsed the diplomatic mind for seven years to come, and made Europe lurch from side to side in a terrific manner, proved a mere paper company; never sent ships, only produced diplomacies, and 'had the honor to be.'" These picturesque paragraphs from Carlyle's "History of Friedrich the Second," do not disclose the facts. The Ostend Company formed the one great attempt of the Holy Roman empire, then with Austria at its head, to secure a share of the Indian trade. It not only sent ships, but it also founded two settlements in India which threatened the commerce of the older European companies. One of its settlements was at Coblom or Covelong, between the English Madras and the Dutch Sadras, on the southeastern coast. The older was at Bankipur, or Banky-bazaar, on the Hugli River, between the English Calcutta and the Dutch Chinsurah. Each of these German settlements was regarded with hatred by the English and Dutch; and with a more intense fear by the less successful French, whose adjacent settlements at Pondicherry on the Madras coast, and at Chandarnagar on the Hugli, were also threatened by the Ostend Company.

So far from the German association being "a mere paper company," and never sending ships, as Carlyle supposes, its formation was the result of a series of successful experimental voyages. In 1717 Prince Eugene of Savoy, the famous general, and governor-general of the Austria Netherlands, ordered two vessels to sail for India, under the protection of his own passports. The profits of the expedition led to others in succeeding years, and each voyage proved so fortunate, that the emperor found it necessary to protect and consolidate the property of the adventurers by a charter in 1722. This deed granted to the Ostend Company more favorable terms than any of the other European companies enjoyed. Its capital was six million gulden; which at the present rate would be \$2,412,000, but the relative value would give a considerably larger sum, and so great were its profits during its first years that its shares brought in 15 per cent. The French, Dutch, and English Companies loudly complained of its factories, built at their very doors, both on the Hugli River and on the Madras coast. These complaints were warmly taken up by their respective governments in Europe.

The object which the Emperor Charles VI. had in view

1722-1733

was political not less than commercial. The Catholic Netherlands, now Belgium, in which Ostend is situated, formed a part of the Holy Roman empire. By the Treaties of Rastatt and Baden in 1714 they passed from Spain to Austria. Charles VI. was at the same time ruler of the Catholic Netherlands and Austria and Holy Roman emperor. Thus his interests in the Ostend Company were Belgian, Austrian, and Imperial, hence the apparent confusion in his aims for the Company. The wrath of the English and Dutch was heightened by the fact that the success of their arms had given the Belgian provinces to Charles VI.

In 1719 the Austrian Oriental Trading Company was organized to trade within the Austrian dominions and from Austrian ports, with its headquarters at Trieste and Fiume, but after a few years it declined and about 1740 ceased to exist. Prince Eugene had urged that an Indian company might be made to form the nucleus of an Austrian fleet, with a first-class naval station at Ostend on the North Sea, and another at Fiume or Trieste on the Adriatic. Such a fleet would complete the greatness of Austria by sea as by land; and would render her independent of the maritime powers, especially of England and the Dutch. The empire would at length put its ports on the Baltic and the Adriatic to a proper use, and would thenceforth exert a commanding maritime influence in Europe.

The existing maritime powers objected to this; and the Ostend Company became the shuttlecock of European diplomacy for the next five years. The Dutch and the English felt themselves particularly aggrieved. They pleaded the Treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht. After long and loud altercations, the emperor sacrificed the Ostend Company in 1727 to gain the acceptance of a project nearer his heart—the Pragmatic Sanction for the devolution of his hereditary dominions. To save his honor, the sacrifice at first took the form of a suspension of the company's charter for seven years, but the company was doomed by the maritime powers. Its shareholders did not, however, despair. They made attempts to transfer their European center of trade to Hamburg, Trieste, Tuscany and even Sweden.

Meanwhile the other European companies in Bengal had taken the law into their own hands. They stirred up the Mohammedan government against the newcomers. In 1733, the Mohammedan military governor of Hugli picked a quarrel, in the name of the

Delhi emperor, with the little Belgian settlement at Bankipur, which lay about eight miles below Hugli town on the opposite side of the river. The Mohammedan troops besieged Bankipur; and the garrison, reduced to fourteen persons, after a despairing resistance against overwhelming numbers, abandoned the place and set sail for Europe. The Ostend agent lost his right arm by a cannon ball during the attack; and the Ostend Company, together with the Austrian interests which it represented, became thenceforward merely a name in Bengal. Its chief settlement, Bankipur or Banky-bazaar, has long disappeared from the maps; and I could only trace its existence from a chart of the eighteenth century, aided by the records of that period, and by repeated personal inquiry on the spot. The Ostend Company, however, still prolonged its existence in Europe. After a miserable struggle it became bankrupt in 1784; and was finally extinguished by the arrangements made at the renewal of the English East India Company's charter in 1793.

What the emperor had failed to effect, Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, resolved to accomplish. Having gained possession of East Friesland in 1744, he tried to convert its capital, Embden, into a great northern port. Among other measures, he gave his royal patronage to the Asiatic Trading Company, started September 1, 1750, and founded the *Bengalische Handelsgesellschaft* on January 24, 1753. The first of these companies had a capital of \$853,000; but six ships sent successively to China only defrayed their own expenses, and yielded a profit of ten per cent. in seven years. The Bengal Company of Embden proved still more unfortunate; its existence was summed up in two expeditions which did not pay, and in a long and costly lawsuit.

The failure of Frederick the Great's efforts to secure for Prussia a share in the Indian trade resulted to some extent from the jealousy of the rival European companies in India. The Dutch, French, and English pilots refused to show the way up the dangerous Hugli River to the Embden ships, "or any other not belonging to powers already established in India." It is due to the European companies to state that in thus refusing pilots to the newcomers, they were carrying out the orders of the native government of Bengal to which they were then strictly subject. "If the Germans come here," the nawab of Murshidabad had written, August 19, 1751, to the English merchants on a rumor of the first Embden expedition reaching India, "it will be very bad for

1731-1778

all the Europeans, but for you worst of all, and you will afterward repent it; and I shall be obliged to stop all your trade and business. . . . Therefore take care that these German ships do not come."

"God forbid that they should come," was the pious response of the president of the English council; "but should this be the case, I am in hopes they will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed."

They came, nevertheless, and some years later the English court of directors complained that their Bengal servants were anxious to trade privately with the Embden Company. "If any of the Prussian ships," wrote the court, March 25, 1756, "want the usual assistance of water, provisions, or real necessaries, they are to be supplied according to the customs of nations in amity one with the other. But you are on no pretense whatsoever to have any dealings with them, or give the least assistance in their mercantile affairs."

The truth is that the Prussian Company had effected an entrance into Bengal, and found the French, English, and Dutch merchants quite willing to trade with it on their private account, but the Prussian investments were made without experience, and the Embden Company was before long sacrificed by the Prussian king to the exigencies of his European diplomacy.

The last nation of Europe to engage in maritime trade with India was Sweden. When the Ostend Company was suspended, a number of its servants were thrown out of employment. Henry Koning, of Stockholm, took advantage of their knowledge of the East, and obtained a charter for the Swedish Company, dated June 13, 1731. The headquarters of the company were at Gothenburg, and between 1731 and 1778 it sent seventy-six ships to China, three to Bengal, and three to Surat. The profits at first were large, but gradually fell off. This company was reorganized in 1806, but did little; and, after many troubles, disappeared from India.

Such is a summary of the efforts by European nations to obtain a share in the India trade. The Portuguese failed, because they attempted a task altogether beyond their strength: the conquest and conversion of India. Their memorials are the epic of "The Lusiad," the death-roll of the Inquisition, an indigent half-caste population, and three decayed patches of territory on the Bombay

coast. The Dutch failed on the Indian continent because their trade was based on a monopoly which it was impossible to maintain, except by great and costly armaments. Their monopoly, however, still flourishes in their isolated island dominion of Java. The French failed, in spite of the brilliancy of their arms and the genius of their generals, from want of steady support at home. Their ablest Indian servants fell victims to a corrupt court and a careless people. Their surviving settlements disclose that talent for careful administration, which, but for French monarchs and their ministers and their mistresses, might have been displayed throughout a wide Indian empire.

The German companies, whether Austrian or Prussian, were sacrificed to the diplomatic necessities of their royal patrons in Europe, and to the dependence of the German states in the wars of the eighteenth century upon the maritime powers, but the Germans have never abandoned the struggle. The share in the Indian trade which Prussian king and Austrian kaiser failed to grasp in the eighteenth century has been gradually acquired by German merchants in our own day. An important part of the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay is now conducted by German firms. German mercantile agents are to be found in the rice districts, the jute districts, the cotton districts; and persons of German nationality have rapidly increased in the Indian census returns.

England emerged the prize-winner from the long contest of the European nations for India. Her success was partly the good gift of fortune, but chiefly the result of four elements in the national character. There was: first, a marvellous patience and self-restraint in refusing to enter on territorial conquests or projects of Indian aggrandizement, until she had gathered strength enough to succeed. Second, an indomitable persistence in those projects once they were entered on; and a total incapacity, on the part of her servants in India, of being stopped by defeat. Third, an admirable mutual confidence of the Company's servants in each other in times of trouble. Fourth, and chief of all, the resolute support of the English nation at home. England has never doubted that she must retrieve, at whatever strain to herself, every disaster which may befall Englishmen in India, and she has never sacrificed the work of her Indian servants to the exigencies of her diplomacy in Europe. She was the only European power which unconsciously, but absolutely, carried out these two principles of policy. The

result of that policy, pursued during three centuries, is the British India of to-day.

Though England has made herself the paramount power in India and has successfully for more than a century excluded all other powers from political intervention in India, she has not monopolized for her merchants the trade of India, and especially since the transfer of India from the Company to the crown in 1858 has maintained what has come to be known as "the open door." Traders of all nations enter the markets of India on a par with Englishmen and now control a large proportion of the trade. Of India's sea-borne trade in 1902-1903, exclusive of treasure and government stores, forty-one per cent. only was with the United Kingdom, nine per cent. with China, five per cent. with France, six per cent. with Germany, and four and one-half per cent. with the United States. The total shipping entered and cleared to foreign countries at Indian ports during 1902-1903 was 10,926,560 tons, an increase of thirteen per cent. as compared with the previous year. The number of natives of continental European states resident in British India, exclusive of the native states, has steadily increased in recent years. In 1872 the number was 2554, but had increased to 5278 in 1881, and 5868 in 1891.

Chapter XIII

GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER. 1700-1805

THE political history of the British in India begins in the eighteenth century with the French wars in the Karnatik. It was at Arcot, in the Madras presidency, that Clive's star first shone forth; and it was on the field of Wandiwash in the same presidency that the French dream of an Indian empire was forever shattered. Fort St. George, or Madras, was, as we have seen, the first territorial possession of the English on the mainland of India, having been founded by Francis Day in 1639. The French settlement of Pondicherri, about 100 miles lower down the Coromandel coast, was established in 1674; and for many years the English and French traded side by side without rivalry or territorial ambition.

On the death of the Mogul emperor, Aurangzeb, in 1707, southern India gradually became independent of Delhi. In the Deccan proper, the Nizam-ul-Mulk founded a hereditary dynasty, with Haidarabad for its capital, which exercised a nominal authority over the entire south. The Karnatik, or the lowland tract between the central plateau and the Bay of Bengal, was ruled by a deputy of the nizam, known as the nawab of Arcot, who in his turn asserted claims to hereditary sovereignty. Farther south, Trichinopoli was the capital of a Hindu raja; Tanjore formed another Hindu kingdom under a degenerate descendant of the Maratha leader, Sivaji. Inland, Mysore was gradually growing into a third Hindu state; while everywhere local chieftains, called palegars or nayaks, were in semi-independent possession of citadels or hill-forts. These represented the feudal chiefs or fief-holders of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar; and many of them had maintained a practical independence, subject to irregular payments of tribute, since the fall of that kingdom in 1565.

Such was the condition of affairs in southern India when war broke out between the English and the French in Europe in 1743. Dupleix was at that time French governor of Pondicherri and

1743-1748

Clive was a young civil servant or "writer" at Madras. Joseph François Dupleix was born at Landrecies, France, in 1697. He was a son of a director of the French East India Company and joined the Company's service at Pondicherry in 1720. He was governor-general of the French possessions in India from 1742 to 1754, and died discredited and poverty-stricken in Paris on November 10, 1764. Robert Clive was born in Shropshire, England, on September 29, 1725, and was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company in 1743, and reached Madras in the following year. In 1747 he was commissioned ensign in the Company's army. He was governor of Bengal from 1758 to 1760 and from 1765 to 1767. In addition to his career in India, it may be noted that he was created Baron Clive of Plassey in the Irish peerage in 1762. He died by his own hand on November 22, 1774.

An English fleet appeared first on the Coromandel coast, but Dupleix by a judicious present induced the nawab of Arcot to interpose and forbid hostilities. In 1746 a French squadron arrived, under the command of Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais, the famous French governor of the Isle de France, or Mauritius, from 1735 to 1746. Madras surrendered to it almost without a blow; and the only settlement left to the English was Fort St. David, some miles south of Pondicherry, where Clive and a few other fugitives sought shelter. The nawab of Arcot, faithful to his impartial policy, marched with 10,000 men to drive the French out of Madras, but was defeated by Paradis at Saint Thomé, now a southern suburb of Madras, on November 4, 1746. In 1748 an English fleet arrived under Admiral Boscawen, and attempted the siege of Pondicherry, while a land force coöperated under Major Stringer Lawrence, known as the "Father of the Indian Army." The French repulsed all attacks; but the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the same year, restored Madras to the English, to compensate for the retrocession to France of Louisburg in North America, which had been captured by the English in 1745.

It should be remembered that the two wars in the Karnatik were merely parts of two great world-wide struggles, the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748, and the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763. In Europe the central fact in each of these wars was the struggle between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa for Silesia; in America and in Asia and upon the seas, the great fact was the struggle between England and France for maritime su-

premacv and colonial empire. The earlier struggle was indecisive and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was merely a truce which was violated by both parties before the war was formally renewed in 1756. In France the chief minister, Choiseul, was baffled by the intrigues of Louis XV. and the incapability of the French generals. Until the crisis of the struggle was past England loyally supported William Pitt, and England's success in the three-fold struggle was due to his masterly policy and to the ability of the subordinates whom he selected to carry it out. The first war with the French was merely an incident in the greater contest in Europe. The second war had its origin in Indian politics, while England and France were at peace. The easy success of the French arms had inspired Dupleix with the ambition of founding a French empire in India, under the shadow of the Mohammedan powers. Disputed successions among the reigning families both at Haidarabad and at Arcot gave him his opportunity. On both thrones Dupleix placed nominees of his own, and for a time he posed as the arbiter of the entire south. In boldness of conception, and in knowledge of oriental diplomacy, Dupleix has probably had no equal, but he was no soldier, and he was destined to encounter in the field the "heaven-born genius" of Clive. The English of Madras, under the instinct of self-preservation, had maintained the cause of another candidate to the throne of Arcot, in opposition to the nominee of Dupleix. Their candidate was Mohammed Ali, afterward known in history as Wala-jah.

The war which ensued between the French and English in southern India has been exhaustively described by Orme. The one incident that stands out conspicuously is the capture and subsequent defense of Arcot by Clive in 1751. This heroic feat, even more than the battle of Plassey, spread the fame of English valor throughout India. Shortly afterward Clive returned to England in ill-health, but the war continued fitfully for many years. On the whole, the English influence predominated in the Karnatik or Madras coast, and their candidate, Mohammed Ali, maintained his position at Arcot, but, inland, the French were supreme in southern India, and they were also able to seize the maritime tract called the Northern Circars.

The final struggle did not take place until 1760. In that year, Colonel Coote won the decisive victory of Wandiwash, which is in the hills fifty-eight miles southwest of Madras and about equi-

1760-1763

distant from Pondicherry. He then proceeded to invest Pondicherry, which was starved into capitulation in January, 1761. A few months later the hill fortress of Ginji also surrendered. In the words of Orme, "that day terminated the long hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India."

By the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, Pondicherry and certain other factories were restored to the French with narrow territorial limits, but the French were deprived of their military and political influence in Indian affairs. Thrice after this Pondicherry and its dependencies were seized by England in time of war and restored at the peace. The present territorial position of France in India is determined by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, which gave Pondicherry, Chandernagar, Karikal, Mahé, and Yanaon to France. The commercial relations of the French in India are determined by the conventions of March 7, 1815, and of May 13, 1818. Toward the close of the Seven Years' War the negotiation of the Family Compact made Spain a party to the war as the ally of France. For this reason an expedition under General Draper and Admiral Cornish sailed from Madras and captured Manila on October 6, 1762. This event was unknown in Europe when the Treaty of Paris was signed and so Manila and the Philippines remained in the hands of Spain.

Meanwhile the narrative of British conquests shifts with Clive to Lower Bengal. At the time of Aurangzeb's death, in 1707, the nawab or governor of Lower Bengal was Murshid Kuli Khan, known also in European history as Jafar Khan. By birth a Brahman, and brought up as a slave in Persia, he united the administrative ability of a Hindu to the fanaticism of a renegade. Hitherto the capital of Lower Bengal had been at Dacca, on the eastern frontier of the empire, whence the piratical attacks of the Portuguese and of the Arakanese or Maghs could be most easily checked. Murshid Kuli Khan transferred his residence to Murshidabad, in the immediate neighborhood of Kasimbazar, which was then the river port of the Gangetic trade. The English, the French, and the Dutch had each factories at Kasimbazar, as well as at Dacca, Patna, and Maldah, but Calcutta was the separate headquarters of the English, Chandernagar of the French, and Chinsurah of the Dutch, these three towns being situated not far

from one another on the lower reaches of the Hugli, where the river was navigable for sea-going ships. Murshid Kuli Khan ruled over Lower Bengal prosperously for twenty-one years, and left his power to a son-in-law and a grandson. The hereditary succession was broken in 1740 by Ali Vardi Khan, a usurper, but the last of the great nawabs of Bengal. In his days the Maratha horsemen ravaged the country, and the inhabitants of Calcutta obtained permission in 1742 to erect an earthwork, known to the present day as the Maratha Ditch.

Ali Vardi Khan died in 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daula (Surajah Dowlah), a youth of only eighteen years, whose ungovernable temper led to a rupture with the English within two months after his accession. In pursuit of one of his own family who had escaped from his vengeance, he marched upon Calcutta with a large army. Many of the English fled down the river in their ships. The remainder surrendered after some resistance, and were thrust for the night into the "Black Hole" or military jail of Fort William, a room about eighteen feet square, with only two small windows barred with iron. It was the ordinary garrison prison in those times of cruel military discipline, but although the nawab does not seem to have been aware of the consequences, it meant death to a crowd of English men and women in the stifling heats of June. When the door of the prison was opened next morning, only 23 persons out of 146 remained alive. There seems to have been but one woman in the Black Hole and she was one of the survivors. The victims included, besides the English, other Europeans and natives.

The news of this disaster fortunately found Clive back again at Madras, where also was a squadron of king's ships under Admiral Watson. Clive and Watson promptly sailed to the mouth of the Ganges with all the troops they could get together. Calcutta was recovered with little fighting; and the nawab consented to a peace, which restored to the English Company all their privileges, and gave them ample compensation for their losses.

It is possible that matters might have ended thus, if a fresh cause of hostilities had not suddenly arisen. War had just been declared between the English and French in Europe; and Clive, following the traditions of warfare in the Karnatik, captured the French settlement of Chandarnagar on the Hugli. Siraj-ud-daula, enraged by this breach of neutrality within his dominions, sided

1757-1763

with the French, but Clive, again acting upon the policy which he had learned from Dupleix in southern India, provided himself with a rival candidate, Mir Jafar, for the throne. Undaunted, he marched out to the grove of Plassey, about 70 miles north of Calcutta, at the head of 1000 Europeans and 2000 sepoys, with 8 pieces of artillery. The Bengal viceroy's army numbered 35,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with 50 cannon. Clive is said to have fought in spite of his council of war. The truth is, he could scarcely avoid a battle. The nawab attacked with his whole artillery at 6 A. M.; but Clive kept his men well under shelter, "lodged in a large grove, surrounded with good mud-banks." At noon the enemy drew off into their intrenched camp for dinner. Clive only hoped to make a "successful attack at night." Meanwhile, the enemy being probably undressed over their cooking-pots, he sprang upon one of their advanced posts, which had given him trouble, and stormed "an angle of their camp." Several of the nawab's chief officers fell. The nawab himself, dismayed by the unexpected confusion, fled on a camel; his troops dispersed in a panic; and Clive found he had won a great victory. Mir Jafar's cavalry, which had hovered undecided during the battle, and had been repeatedly fired on by Clive, "to make them keep their distance," now joined the English camp; and the road to Murshidabad, the nawab's capital, lay open.

The battle of Plassey was fought on June 23, 1757, an anniversary afterward remembered when the Mutiny of 1857 was at its height. History has agreed to adopt this date as the beginning of the British empire in the East; but the immediate results of the victory were comparatively small, and several years passed in hard fighting before even the Bengalis would admit the superiority of the British arms. For the moment, however, all opposition was at an end. Clive, again following in the steps of Dupleix, placed his nominee, Mir Jafar, upon the viceregal throne at Murshidabad, as nawab of Bengal. Enormous sums were exacted from Mir Jafar as the price of his elevation. The Company claimed 15,000,000 rupees (\$5,500,000) as compensation for its losses. For the English, Hindu, and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta were demanded, respectively, 5,000,000, 2,000,000, 700,000 rupees; for the naval squadron and the army, 2,500,000 rupees apiece. The members of the council were promised the following amounts: Drake, the governor, and Colonel Clive, as second member of the select com-

mittee, 280,000 rupees each; and Becker, Watts, and Major Kilpatrick, 240,000 rupees each. Colonel Clive also received 200,000 rupees as commander in chief, and 1,600,000 rupees "as a private donation." Additional "donations" were likewise made to the other members of the council, amounting in the case of Watts to 800,000 rupees. The first four of these items are taken from the treaty with Mir Jafar. The remaining figures are from the testimony before the Parliamentary investigating committee, and it is not altogether clear what the exact amount of the personal gifts was. Assuming that the total given is correct, it would have amounted to about \$13,000,000. The English still cherished extravagant ideas of Indian wealth. But no funds existed to satisfy their inordinate demands, and they had to be content with Mir Jafar's promise to pay one-half down and the balance in three years, and even of this reduced amount one-third had to be taken in jewels and plate, there being neither coin nor ingots left.

At the same time the new nawab of Bengal made a grant to the Company of the zamindari or landholder's rights over an extensive tract of country round Calcutta, now known as the district of the Twenty-Four Parganas. A pargana is a subdivision of a district. The Twenty-Four Parganas include the country immediately surrounding Calcutta, but do not include the city. The area of this tract was 882 square miles, but has been increased by later additions. In 1757 the Company obtained only the zamindari rights, that is, the right to collect the cultivator's rents, together with the revenue jurisdiction attached, subject to the obligation of paying over the assessed land tax to the nawab, as the representative of the Delhi emperor. In 1759 the land tax also was granted by the emperor, the nominal suzerain of the nawab, in favor of Clive, who thus became the landlord of his own masters, the Company. This military fief, or Clive's jagir, as it was called, subsequently became a matter of inquiry in England. Lord Clive's claims to the property as feudal suzerain over the Company were contested by it in 1764; but finally, in 1765, when he returned to Bengal, a new deed was issued, confirming the unconditional jagir to Lord Clive for ten years, with reversion afterward to the Company in perpetuity. This deed, having received the Delhi emperor's sanction on August 12, 1765, gave absolute validity to the original jagir grant in favor of Lord Clive. It transferred eventually to the Company the Twenty-Four Parganas

1758-1765

as a perpetual property, based upon a jagir grant. The annual sum of 222,958 rupees, the amount at which the land-rent was assessed when first made over to the Company in 1757, was paid to Lord Clive from 1765 until his death in 1774, when the whole proprietary right reverted to the Company.

In 1758 Clive was appointed by the court of directors the first governor of all the company's settlements in Bengal. Two



powers threatened hostilities. On the northwest, the shahzada or imperial prince, afterward the Emperor Shah Alam, with a mixed army of Afghans and Marathas, and supported by the nawab wazir of Oudh, was advancing his own claims to the province of Bengal. In the south, the influence of the French under Lally and Bussy was overshadowing the British at Madras. The name of Clive exercised a decisive effect in both directions. The nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, was anxious to buy off the shahzada, who had

already invested Patna, but Clive marched in person to the rescue, with an army of only 450 Europeans and 2500 sepoy, and the Mogul army dispersed without striking a blow. In the same year Clive dispatched a force southward under Colonel Forde, which recaptured Masulipatam on the Madras coast from the French, and permanently established British influence in the Northern Circars, and at the nizam's court of Haidarabad in southern India. Clive next attacked the Dutch, the only other European nation who might yet prove a rival to the English. He defeated them both by land and water; and their settlement at Chinsurah existed thenceforth only on sufferance. At the critical moment in the Chinsurah campaign Forde found himself unable to act without fresh instructions. In reply to his urgent message, Clive, who was engaged at whist, wrote in pencil on the back of the paper, "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order in council to-morrow," and continued his game.

From 1760 to 1765 Clive was in England. He had left no system of government in Bengal, but merely the tradition that unlimited sums of money might be extracted from the natives by the terror of the English name. In 1761 it was found expedient and profitable to dethrone Mir Jafar, the nawab of Murshidabad, and to substitute his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, in his place. On this occasion, besides private donations, the English received a grant of the three districts of Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, estimated to yield a net revenue of half a million sterling a year.

The freshly appointed nawab of Bengal, Mir Kasim, soon began to show a will of his own, and to cherish dreams of independence. He retired from Murshidabad to Monghyr, a strong position on the Ganges which commanded the line of communication with the northwest. There he proceeded to organize an army, drilled and equipped after European models, and to carry on intrigues with the nawab wazir of Oudh. He was resolved to try his strength with the English, and he found a good pretext. The Company's servants claimed the privilege of carrying on their private trade throughout Bengal, free from the nawab's inland imposts. The assertion of this claim caused affrays between the customs officers of the nawab and the native traders, who, whether truly or not, represented that they were acting on behalf of the servants of the Company. The nawab alleged that his civil

1763-1765

authority was everywhere set at nought. The majority of the council at Calcutta would not listen to his complaints. The governor, Henry Vansittart, and Warren Hastings, then a junior member of council, attempted to effect some compromise, but the controversy had become too hot. The nawab's officers fired upon an English boat, and a general rising against the English took place. In June, 1763, 2000 sepoys were cut to pieces at Patna; about 200 Englishmen, who there and in various other parts of Bengal fell into the hands of the Mohammedans, were massacred.

As soon as regular warfare commenced Mir Kasim met with no more successes. His trained regiments were defeated in two pitched battles by Major Adams, at Gheria, on August 2, and at Udhunala, on September 5; and he himself took refuge with the nawab wazir of Oudh, who refused to deliver him up to the English. This led to a prolongation of the war. Shah Alam, who had now succeeded his father as emperor, and Shuja-ud-daula, the nawab wazir of Oudh, united their forces, and threatened Patna, which the English had recovered. A more formidable danger appeared in the English camp, in the form of the first sepoy mutiny. It was quelled by Major Hector Munro, who ordered twenty-four of the ringleaders to be blown from guns, an old Mogul punishment. On October 23, 1764, Major Munro won the decisive battle of Baxar, about seventy miles west of Patna, which laid Oudh at the feet of the conquerors, and brought the Mogul emperor, Shah Alam, as a suppliant to the English camp. The old deposed nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, was brought forth from his retirement, and was again appointed nawab in place of Mir Kasim, who had risen against the English, whose council in Calcutta had thus twice found the profitable opportunity which they loved, of creating a new nawab of Bengal, and of receiving the donations and large sums of money distributed to them by each of the nawabs on his accession. These and other devices by which the English amassed fortunes in India gave rise to the expression, "to shake the pagoda tree."

In 1765 Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta, as governor of Bengal for the second time. Two landmarks stand out in his policy. First, he sought the substance, although not the name, of territorial power, under the fiction of a grant from the Mogul emperor. Second, he desired to purify the Company's service, by prohibiting illicit gains, and guaranteeing a reasonable salary from honest

sources. In neither respect were his plans carried out by his immediate successors, but English efforts at good government in India date from this second governorship of Clive in 1765, as their military supremacy had dated from his victory at Plassey in 1757.

Clive advanced rapidly from Calcutta to Allahabad, and there settled in person the fate of nearly the northern half of India. Oudh was given back to the nawab wazir, on condition of his paying half a million sterling toward the expenses of the war. The provinces of Allahabad and Kora, lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, were handed over to the Emperor Shah Alam, who in his turn granted to the English Company the fiscal administration of Lower Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and also the territorial jurisdiction of the Northern Circars. A puppet nawab was still maintained at Murshidabad, who received an annual allowance from the Company of 600,000*l.* Half that amount, or about 300,000*l.*, was paid to the emperor as tribute from Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Thus was constituted the dual system of government, by which the English received all the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and undertook to maintain the army; while the criminal jurisdiction was vested in the nawab. In Indian phraseology, the Company was diwan, and the nawab was nizam. The actual collection of the revenues still remained for seven years in the hands of native officials (1765-1772).

Clive's other great task was the reorganization of the Company's service. All the officers, civil and military alike, were tainted with the common corruption. Their legal salaries were paltry, and quite insufficient for a livelihood, but they had been permitted to augment them, sometimes a hundredfold, by means of private trade and by gifts from the native powers. Despite the united resistance of the civil servants, and an actual mutiny of two hundred military officers, Clive carried through his reforms. Private trade and the receipt of presents were prohibited for the future, while a fair increase of pay was provided out of the monopoly of salt.

It is interesting to note that Mir Jafar, who died just before Clive reached India, had bequeathed to Clive a large sum. As the money was already in hand and as he could not honorably accept it under the new order forbidding the Company's officials to accept presents from natives, he established the amount as a fund for



WARREN HASTINGS
(Born 1732. Died 1818)
Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

1767-1772

disabled officers and men of the Company's army. This fund, known as Lord Clive's Fund, reverted to the heirs of Clive on the dissolution of the Company.

Lord Clive quitted India for the third and last time in 1767. Between that date and the governorship of Warren Hastings, in 1772, little of importance occurred in Bengal, beyond the terrible famine of 1770, which is officially reported to have swept away one-third of the inhabitants. The dual system of government established in 1765 by Clive had proved a failure. The English were the real rulers, but the administration of the districts was still carried on by native officials. There was thus a divided responsibility, and when any disaster occurred it was impossible to find out who was really to blame. Even the distant court of directors in England discerned that a complete change had become necessary in the government of Bengal. Warren Hastings, a tried servant of the company, distinguished alike for intelligence, for probity, and for knowledge of oriental manners, was nominated governor by the court of directors, with express instructions to carry out a predetermined series of reforms. In their own words, the court had resolved to "stand forth as diwan, and to take upon themselves, by the agency of their own servants, the entire care and administration of the revenues." In the execution of this plan Hastings removed the exchequer from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and appointed European officers, under title of collectors, to superintend the collections and preside in the revenue courts.

Clive had laid the territorial foundations of the British empire in Bengal. Hastings may be said to have created a British administration for that empire. The wars forced on him by native powers in India, the clamors of his masters in England for money, and the virulence of Philip Francis with a faction of his colleagues at the council table in Calcutta retarded the completion of his schemes; but the manuscript records disclose the patient statesmanship and indomitable industry which he brought to bear upon them. From 1765 to 1772 Clive's dual system of government, by corrupt native underlings and rapacious English chiefs, had prevailed. Thirteen years were now spent by Warren Hastings in experimental efforts at rural administration by means of English officials (1772-1785). The completion of the edifice was left to his successor. Hastings was the administrative organizer, as Clive had been the territorial founder, of England's Indian empire.

Hastings rested his claims as an Indian ruler on his administrative work. He reorganized the Indian service, reformed every branch of the revenue collections, created courts of justice and laid the basis of a police; but history remembers his name, not for his improvements in the internal administration, but for his bold foreign policy in dealing with the native states. From 1772 to 1774 he was governor of Bengal; from the latter date to 1785 he was the first governor-general of India, presiding over a council nominated, like himself, under a statute of Parliament known as the Regulating Act (1773). Lord North's Regulating Act (13 George III., c. 63) also established at Calcutta a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, to administer English law for the English in India. The first chief justice was a former schoolfellow of Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, who faithfully coöperated with Hastings. In his domestic policy Hastings was greatly hampered by the opposition of his colleague in council, Philip Francis, whom he ultimately wounded in a duel; but in his external relations with Oudh, with the Marathas and with Haidar Ali, Hastings was generally, although not always, able to compel assent to his views.

His relations with the native powers, like his domestic policy, formed a well-considered scheme. Hastings had to find money for the court of directors in England, whose thirst for the wealth of India was not less keen, although more decorous, than that of their servants in Bengal. He had also to protect the Company's territory from the native powers, which, if he had not destroyed them, would have annihilated him. Beyond the Bengal frontier a group of Mohammedan viceroys or governors of the old Mogul empire had established independent states, the most important of which was Oudh. Beyond this group of Mohammedan states the Marathas were practically the masters of northern India, and held the nominal emperor of Delhi as a puppet under their control. The wise policy of Warren Hastings was to ally himself with the independent Mohammedan states, that is to say principally with Oudh, just beyond his own frontier. If he could make these Mohammedan states strong, he hoped that they would prevent the Marathas from pouring down into Bengal; but these Mohammedan states were themselves so weak that this policy only obtained a partial success. In the end Warren Hastings found himself compelled to advance the British territories farther up the

1773-1774

Ganges, and practically to bring the Mohammedan states under his own control.

Warren Hastings had in the first place to make Bengal pay. This he could not do under Clive's dual system of administration. When he abolished that double system, he cut down the nawab of Bengal's allowance to one-half, and so saved about 160,000*l.* (\$800,000) a year. As a matter of fact, the titular nawab, being then a minor, had ceased to render even any nominal service for his enormous income. Clive had himself reduced the original 600,000*l.* (\$3,000,000) to 450,000*l.* (\$2,250,000) on the accession of a new nawab in 1766; and the grant was again cut down to 350,000*l.* (\$1,750,000) on a fresh succession in 1769. The allowance had practically been of a fluctuating and personal character. Its further reduction in 1772 in the case of the new child-nawab had, moreover, been expressly ordered by the court of directors six months before Hastings took office as governor of Bengal.

Hastings's next financial stroke was to stop payment of the tribute of 300,000*l.* (\$1,500,000) to the Delhi emperor, which Clive had agreed to, in return for the grant of Bengal to the Company, for the emperor had now been seized by the Marathas. Hastings held that his majesty was no longer independent, and that to pay money to the emperor would practically be paying it to the Marathas, who were England's most formidable enemies in India, and whom he clearly saw that the English would have to crush, unless they were willing to be crushed by them. Hastings therefore withheld the tribute from the puppet emperor, or rather from his Maratha custodians.

On the partition of the Gangetic valley in 1765, Clive had also allotted the provinces of Allahabad and Kora to the Emperor Shah Alam. The emperor, now in the hands of the Marathas, made them over to his new masters. Warren Hastings held that by so doing his majesty had forfeited his title to these provinces. Hastings accordingly resold them to the wazir of Oudh. By this measure he freed the Company from a military charge of nearly half a million sterling, and obtained a price of over half a million for the Company. The terms of sale included the loan of British troops to subdue the Rohilla Afghans, who had seized and for some time kept hold of a tract on the northwestern frontier of Oudh. The Rohillas were Mohammedans and foreigners; they had cruelly lorded it over the Hindu peasantry; and they were now

intriguing with the Marathas, the most dangerous foes of the English. The wazir of Oudh, supported by the British troops lent to him by Hastings, completely defeated the Rohillas. He compelled most of their fighting men to seek new homes on the other side of the Ganges River, in a neighboring and equally fertile district, but one in which they could no longer open the northern frontier of Oudh to the Marathas. By the foregoing series of measures Hastings ceased to furnish the Maratha custodians of the Delhi emperor with the Bengal tribute; he also strengthened the English ally, the wazir of Oudh, and closed his frontier against Maratha invasions; he bettered the Company's finances in Bengal by a million sterling (\$5,000,000) a year in both its revenue and expenditure: some say two millions *per annum*.

Hastings further improved the financial position of the Company by contributions from Chait Singh and from the begam of Oudh. Chait Singh, the raja of Benares, had grown rich under British protection. He resisted the just demand of Warren Hastings to subsidize a military force, and entered into correspondence with the enemies of the British government. This led to his arrest. He escaped, headed a rebellion, and was crushed. His estates were forfeited, but transferred to his nephew, subject to an increased tribute. The begam, or queen-mother, of Oudh was charged with abetting Chait Singh, the Benares raja, in his rebellion. A heavy fine was laid upon her, which she resisted to the utmost, but after severe pressure on herself and the eunuchs of her household, over a million sterling (\$5,000,000) was obtained.

On his return to England Warren Hastings was impeached by the House of Commons for these and other alleged acts of oppression. He was solemnly tried by the House of Lords, and the proceedings dragged themselves out for seven years (1788-1795). They form one of the most celebrated state trials in English history, and ended in a verdict of not guilty on all the charges. Meanwhile the cost of the defense had ruined Warren Hastings, and left him dependent upon the generosity of the court of directors, a generosity which never failed.

The Bombay government looked with envy on the territorial conquests of Madras and Bengal. It accordingly resolved to establish its supremacy at the Maratha court of Poona. This ambition found scope, in 1775, by the Treaty of Surat, by which Raghoba, one of the claimants to the headship of the Marathas as peshwa,

1775-1781

agreed to cede Salsette and Bassein to the English, in consideration of being himself restored to Poona. The military operations that followed are known as the first Maratha war. Warren Hastings, who in his capacity of governor-general claimed a right of control over the decisions of the Bombay government, strongly disapproved of the Treaty of Surat, but when war actually broke out, in 1779, he threw the whole force of the Bengal army into the scale. One of his favorite officers, Colonel Goddard, marched across the peninsula of India from sea to sea, and conquered the rich province of Gujarat almost without a blow. Another, Captain Popham, stormed, on August 3, 1780, the rock-fortress of Gwalior, which was regarded as the key of Hindustan. These brilliant successes of the Bengal troops atoned for the disgrace of the Convention of Wargaum in 1779, when the Marathas had overpowered and dictated terms to the Bombay force; but the war was protracted until 1781. It was closed in 1782 by the Treaty of Salbai, which practically restored the *status quo*. Raghuba, the English nominee for the peshwaship, was set aside on a pension; Gujarat was restored to the Marathas; and only Salsette, with Elephanta and two other small islands in Bombay harbor was retained by the English.

Meanwhile, Warren Hastings had to deal with a more dangerous enemy than even the Maratha confederacy. The reckless conduct of the Madras government had aroused the hostility of Haidar Ali of Mysore, and also of the nizam of the Deccan, the two strongest Mussulman powers in India. These attempted to draw the Marathas into an alliance against the English. Haidar Ali began his career as a soldier of fortune when about thirty years of age in 1749, and soon after 1760 he had made himself master of Mysore. He became an implacable foe of the English, whom he sought to expel from India through the combined efforts of their foes.

The diplomacy of Hastings won back the nizam and the Maratha raja of Nagpur; but the army of Haidar Ali fell like a thunderbolt upon the British possessions in the Karnatik. A strong detachment under Colonel Baillie was cut to pieces at Perambakam, and Haidar Ali's Mysore cavalry ravaged the country up to the walls of Madras. For the second time the Bengal army, stimulated by the energy of Hastings, saved the honor of the English name. He dispatched Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandiwash, to relieve Madras by sea, with all the men and money available, while Colonel

Pearse marched south overland to overawe the raja of Berar and the nizam. The war was hotly contested, for the aged Sir Eyre Coote had lost his energy, and the Mysore army was not only well disciplined and equipped, but skillfully handled by Haidar and his son Tipu. Haidar died in 1782, and peace was finally concluded with Tipu in 1784, on the basis of a mutual restitution of all conquests. Warren Hastings retired from the governor-generalship in 1785.

Ever since the humiliating Treaty of Paris, in 1763, France had been smarting to avenge herself for her losses in America and India and on the seas. The American Declaration of Independence and Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga led France to declare war against England in 1778. Early naval successes led France to seek the recovery of her power in India. Suffren, probably the greatest of French admirals, was sent with a fleet to the coast of India, to cooperate with Haidar Ali, with whom the French had long been intriguing. The combats between Suffren and Hughes, the English commander, fill glorious pages in the naval annals of both nations. The French posts in India were seized by the English, but were restored by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 and the French fleet was withdrawn.

Hastings's administration of India, and the acts of the Company, had given rise to questions upon which parties in England had taken sides. Parliamentary investigations led to new legislation. In 1783 Fox introduced a bill to revise the system of administration, but was defeated in the House of Lords. The younger Pitt then became prime minister and secured the passage of a new India bill in 1784. This act, somewhat amended at various times, established the system of dual control of India by the English government and the English East India Company, which continued in operation until 1858. While the administration remained in the hands of the board of directors of the company, its acts were subject to revision by a board of control, composed of six privy councilors, one of whom, the president, had a seat in the cabinet as secretary of state. The governor-general and a few other high officers were appointed by the crown, but the remaining patronage was left in the hands of the Company. The authority of the governor-general and his council over the separate presidencies was made complete in diplomatic, military, and revenue matters. By an amending act in 1786 the governor-general was empowered in ex-

1786-1789

traordinary cases to act on his own responsibility, even in opposition to his council.

In 1786 arrived Lord Cornwallis, the same who had served in America and who was now the first English nobleman to undertake the office of governor-general of India. Between these two great names an interregnum of twenty months took place under Sir John Macpherson, a civil servant of the Company (February, 1785, to September, 1786). John Macpherson was born in 1745 on the Isle of Skye. He entered the East India Company's service in 1770 and became a member of the governor-general's council in 1782. As senior member of council, he became acting governor-general on Hastings's departure from India in 1785. He was made baronet in 1786 and returned to England after the arrival of Cornwallis. He died in 1821. Lord Cornwallis twice held the high post of governor-general. His first rule lasted from 1786 to 1793, and is celebrated for two events, the introduction of the Permanent Settlement into Bengal, and the second Mysore war. If the foundations of the system of civil administration were laid by Hastings, the superstructure was raised by Cornwallis. He made over the higher criminal jurisdiction to European officers, and established the *nizam*at *sadr* *adalat*, or supreme court of criminal judicature, at Calcutta; in the rural districts he separated the functions of revenue collector and civil judge. The system thus organized in Bengal was afterward extended to Madras and Bombay, when those presidencies also grew into great territorial divisions of India.

The achievement most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis is the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. Up to this time the revenue had been collected pretty much according to the old Mogul system. The *zamindars*, or government farmers, whose office always tended to become hereditary, were recognized as having a right to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators; but no principle of assessment existed, and the amount actually realized varied greatly from year to year. Hastings tried to obtain experience, from a succession of five years' settlements, so as to furnish a standard rate for the future. Philip Francis, the great rival of Hastings, advocated, on the other hand, a limitation of the state demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home, partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the *zamindar* with the landlord of the English system of property.

Accordingly, Cornwallis took out with him in 1786 instructions to introduce a permanent settlement of the land tax of Bengal.

The process of assessment began in 1789, and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn, as had been done by Akbar, and as is now done whenever settlements are made in the British provinces. The amount to be paid in the future was fixed by reference to what had been paid in the past. At first the settlement was decennial, or for ten years, but in 1793 it was declared permanent. The total assessment amounted to 26,800,989 sicca rupees (\$16,000,000) for Bengal. Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution; but the praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, belongs to John Shore, a civil servant, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed in his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis's preconceived idea of a proprietary body, and than the court of directors' haste after fixity, permitted.

The second Mysore war of 1790-1792 is noteworthy on two accounts. Lord Cornwallis, the governor-general, led the British army in person, with a pomp and a magnificence of supply which recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The two great southern powers, the nizam of the Deccan and the Maratha confederacy, coöperated as allies of the British. In the end, Tipu Sultan submitted when Lord Cornwallis had commenced to beleaguer his capital. He agreed to yield one-half of his dominions to be divided among the allies, and to pay three millions sterling (\$15,000,000) toward the cost of the war. These conditions he fulfilled, but ever afterward he burned to be revenged upon his English conquerors. Lord Cornwallis retired in 1793, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore.

The period of Sir John Shore's rule as governor-general, from 1793 to 1798, was uneventful. When Shore left India in 1798 Sir Alfred Clarke, as senior member of council, became acting governor-general until the arrival of Wellesley. In 1798, Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis Wellesley, arrived in India, already inspired with imperial projects which were destined to change the map of the country. Lord Mornington was the friend and favorite of Pitt, from whom he is thought to have derived his far-reaching political vision, and his antipathy to the French name. From the first he laid down as his guiding principle that the English must be the one paramount power in the Indian peninsula, and the native

1798-1801

princes could only retain the insignia of sovereignty by surrendering their political independence. The history of India since his time has been but the gradual development of this policy, which received its finishing touch when Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India on January 1, 1877.

To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion of India, led by Napoleon Bonaparte in person, was the immediate governing idea of Wellesley's foreign policy. France at this time, and for many years later, filled the place afterward occupied by Russia in the minds of Indian statesmen. Nor was the danger so remote as might now be thought. The nizam of Haidarabad was overawed by the Frenchmen who officered his army. The soldiers of Sindhia, the military head of the Maratha confederacy, were disciplined and led by French adventurers. Tipu Sultan of Mysore carried on a secret correspondence with the French Directory, allowed a tree of liberty to be planted in his dominions, and enrolled himself in a republican club as "citizen Tipu." The islands of France, now Mauritius, and of Bourbon, now Réunion, afforded a convenient halfway rendezvous for French intrigue and for the assembling of a hostile expedition. Throughout the eighteenth century these islands were the real basis for all French activity in India. Mauritius has been in English possession since 1810, but Réunion is still French. It may be noted further that, as the Dutch were the allies of the French, their colonies were liable to seizure by the English at this time. In 1795 they annexed Ceylon to the Madras presidency, but a few years later it was made a crown colony and its cession confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens. The Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope was seized in 1795, restored by the Treaty of Amiens, again seized in 1806, and ceded to England by treaty in 1814. These conquests greatly increased England's security in India by removing unfriendly powers from important positions on the route to India and from places that formed a satisfactory basis for attacks upon India. Above all, Napoleon Bonaparte was then in Egypt, dreaming of the Indian conquests of Alexander the Great, and no man knew in what direction he might turn his hitherto unconquered legions.

In February, 1801, Wellesley dispatched an expedition under General Baird to assist in the expulsion of the French from Egypt, but it arrived too late to be of much service. At about the same time the mad Tsar Paul was actually planning, with the connivance

of Bonaparte, an overland invasion of India, but his assassination promptly put an end to this wild scheme.

Wellesley conceived the scheme of crushing forever the French hopes in Asia, by placing himself at the head of a great Indian confederacy. In Lower Bengal, the sword of Clive and the policy of Warren Hastings had made the English paramount. Before the end of the century their power was consolidated from the seaboard to Benares, high up the Gangetic valley. Beyond their frontier the nawab wazir of Oudh had agreed to pay a subsidy for the aid of British troops. This sum in 1797 amounted to \$3,800,000 a year; and the nawab, being always in arrears, entered into negotiations for a cession of territory in lieu of a cash payment. In 1801 the Treaty of Lucknow made over to the British the Doab, or fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with Rohilkhand. The Treaty of Lucknow with Oudh was a reversal of Hastings's policy of defense for Bengal. Hastings had depended on Oudh as an ally to protect Bengal from attacks. Wellesley secured the cession by Oudh of its belt of exterior territory, whose revenues were to be applied to the maintenance of the Anglo-Indian army, while Wellesley guaranteed the ruler of Oudh the secure possession of the rest of his state. This meant that the native ruler was deprived of the control of the foreign and military affairs of his state, which became practically an English protectorate. This treaty, together with that with the nizam in 1800 and the one with the Hindu raja of Mysore in 1799, initiated the policy of subsidiary treaties by which the relations of the English government with the various native states are still regulated. By this system England secures external peace for herself in India and internal peace both for her own and for the native possessions in India. This is the establishment of the *pax britannica*. The French assistance to Tipu Sultan in 1798 was the last instance of active intervention of any foreign power in India.

In southern India English possessions were chiefly confined, before Lord Wellesley, to the coast districts of Madras and Bombay. Wellesley resolved to make the British supreme as far as Delhi in northern India, and to compel the great powers of the south to enter into subordinate relations to the Company's government. The intrigues of the native princes gave him his opportunity for carrying out this plan without a breach of faith. The time had arrived when the English must either become supreme in India or be driven out of

1801

it. The Mogul empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Mohammedan governors of that empire or to the Hindu confederacy represented by the Marathas, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British.

His work in northern India was at first easy. The Treaty of Lucknow in 1801 made the English territorial rulers as far as the heart of the present United Provinces and established their political influence in Oudh. Beyond those limits the northern branches of the Marathas practically held sway, with the puppet emperor in their hands. Lord Wellesley left them untouched for a few years, until the second Maratha war (1802-1804) gave him an opportunity for dealing effectively with their nation as a whole. In southern India he saw that the nizam at Haidarabad stood in need of his protection, and he converted him into a useful follower throughout the succeeding struggle. The other Mohammedan power of the south, Tipu Sultan of Mysore, could not be so easily handled. Lord Wellesley resolved to crush him, and had ample provocation for so doing. The third power of southern India—namely, the Maratha confederacy—was so loosely organized that Lord Wellesley seems at first to have hoped to live on terms with it. When several years of fitful alliance had convinced him that he had to choose between the supremacy of the Marathas or of the British in southern India, he did not hesitate to decide.

Lord Wellesley first addressed himself to the weakest of the three southern powers, the nizam of Haidarabad. Here he won a diplomatic success, which turned a possible rival into a subservient ally. The French-trained battalions at Haidarabad were disbanded, and the nizam bound himself by treaty not to take any European into his service without the consent of the English government, a clause since inserted in every engagement entered into with native powers.

Wellesley next turned the whole weight of his resources against Tipu, whom Cornwallis had defeated but not subdued. Tipu's intrigues with the French were laid bare, and he was given an opportunity of adhering to the new subsidiary system. On his refusal, war was declared, and Wellesley came down in viceregal state to Madras to organize the expedition in person, and to watch over the course of events. One English army marched into Mysore from Madras, accompanied by a contingent from the nizam.

Another advanced from the western coast. Tipu, after a feeble resistance in the field, retired into Seringapatam, his capital, and, when it was stormed in 1799, died fighting bravely in the breach. Since the battle of Plassey, no event so greatly impressed the natives as the capture of Seringapatam, which won for General George Harris an eventual peerage, and for Wellesley an Irish marquissate. In dealing with the territories of Tipu, Wellesley acted with moderation. The central portion, forming the old state of Mysore, was restored to an infant representative of the Hindu rajas, whom Haidar Ali had dethroned; the rest of Tipu's dominion was partitioned between the nizam, the Marathas, and the English. At about the same time, the Karnatik, or the part of southeastern India ruled by the nawab of Arcot, and also the principality of Tanjore, were placed under direct British administration, thus constituting the Madras presidency almost as it existed to the present day. The sons of the slain Tipu were treated by Lord Wellesley with paternal tenderness. They received a magnificent allowance, with a semi-royal establishment, first at Vellore, and afterward in Calcutta. The last of them, Prince Ghulam Mohammed, who survived to 1877, was long a well-known citizen of Calcutta, and an active justice of the peace.

The Marathas had been the nominal allies of the English in both their wars with Tipu; but they had not rendered active assistance, nor were they secured to the English side as the nizam had been. The Maratha powers at this time were five in number. The recognized head of the confederacy was the peshwa of Poona, who ruled the hill country of the Western Ghats, the cradle of the Maratha race. The fertile province of Gujarat was annually harried by the horsemen of the Gaekwar of Baroda. In central India two military leaders, Sindhia of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore, alternately held the preëminence. Toward the east the Bhonsla raja of Nagpur reigned from Berar to the coast of Orissa. Wellesley labored to bring these several Maratha powers within the net of his subsidiary system. In 1802 the necessities of the peshwa, who had been defeated by Holkar, and driven as a fugitive into British territory, induced him to sign the Treaty of Bassein. By that he pledged himself to the British to hold communications with no other power, European or native, and granted to the English districts for the maintenance of a subsidiary force. This greatly extended the English territorial influence in the Bombay presidency, but it led to the



THE STORMING OF SERINGAPATAM AND DEATH OF TIPU SULTAN

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

TO THE
ASSOCIATION

1802-1805

second Maratha war, as neither Sindhia nor the raja of Nagpur would tolerate the peshwa's betrayal of the Maratha independence.

The campaigns which followed are perhaps the most glorious in the history of the British arms in India. The general plan, and the adequate provision of resources, were due to the Marquis Wellesley, as also the indomitable spirit which refused to admit of defeat. The armies were led by General Arthur Wellesley, the younger brother of the governor-general, and General Lake. Wellesley operated in the Deccan, where, in a few short months, he won the decisive victories of Assaye and Argaum, and captured Ahmadnagar. Lake's campaign in Hindustan was equally brilliant, although it has received less notice from historians. He won pitched battles at Aligarh and Laswari, and took the cities of Delhi and Agra. He scattered the French-trained troops of Sindhia, and at the same time stood forward as the champion of the Mogul emperor in his hereditary capital. Before the end of 1803 both Sindhia and the Bhonsla raja of Nagpur sued for peace. Sindhia ceded all claims to the territory north of the Jumna, and left the blind old Emperor Shah Alam once more under British protection. The Bhonsla forfeited Orissa to the English, who had already occupied it with a flying column in 1803, and Berar to the nizam, who gained fresh territory by every act of complaisance to the British government. The freebooter Jaswant Rao Holkar alone remained in the field, supporting his troops by raids through Malwa and Rajputana. The concluding years of Wellesley's rule were occupied with a series of operations against Holkar, which brought little credit on the British name. The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson through central India (1804) recalled memories of the Convention of Wargaum, and of the destruction of Colonel Baillie's force by Haidar Ali. The repulse of Lake in person at the siege of Bhartpur (Bhurtpore) is memorable as an instance of a British army in India having to turn back with its object unaccomplished (1805). In spite of Lake's repulse from Bhartpur, the raja was sufficiently alarmed to come to terms with the English. Bhartpur was not finally taken till 1827. Lord Combermere's capture of the fortress then was made necessary by the seizure of the place by a usurper whom the English were obliged to suppress.

In the internal administration, Wellesley was aided not only by successful military leaders, such as his brother and Lord Lake, but also by able and efficient subordinates in the important civil

posts, and by a group of brilliant secretaries. Wellesley's brother Henry, later Baron Cowley (1773-1847), was lieutenant governor of the Oudh cessions; Barry Close (knighted 1812, died 1813) was resident in Mysore and later at Poona; and James Achilles Kirkpatrick was resident at Haidarabad. His foreign secretary was Neil Benjamin Edmonstone (1765-1841); his military secretary, William Kirkpatrick (1754-1812); and another secretary was Henry St. George Tucker (1771-1851), the future chairman of the court of directors.

Wellesley's administration is marked by the inauguration of new policies, not only in foreign affairs, but also in the domestic administration. The need of better training for the civil service, and the desirability of exercising some oversight of the recruits for the service, who were generally in their teens when they reached India, led Wellesley to establish the College of Fort William, at the head of which he placed a clergyman of the Church of England. William Carey, the famous missionary, was the professor of Sanskrit. The college was opened without the permission of the court of directors in 1800, and by their order was practically abolished soon after. It existed in a restricted form till 1854, for instruction in native languages. Metcalfe was the first matriculate in the college and several other famous Anglo-Indians were students in it. To effect the training of the new civil servants, the court of directors maintained the East India College at Haileybury, near London, from 1806 to 1857, and no appointee was sent to India until 18 years of age. A military school was also maintained at Addiscombe in Surrey from 1809 to 1861, where cadets for all branches of the Company's army, except the cavalry, received a preliminary training.

Wellesley, who understood that the neglect of Christianity was responsible for much of the corruption of the character of the Company's servants, was the first governor-general to pay distinct attention to Christianity in India. He caused a public celebration of the *Te Deum* at the close of the Mysore war, and he used his influence to secure the appointment of a bishop for India. He also made some beginning at the humanitarian reforms which Bentinck afterward accomplished.

Lord Wellesley, during his six years of office, carried out almost every part of his territorial scheme. The policy of Wellesley had resulted in giving the English the direct and complete control of the whole eastern coast of India and of the southwestern coast so that

1805

it was impossible for a foreign foe to repeat easily the attacks of Suffren, for there would be no naval base readily available.

In northern India, Lord Lake's campaigns brought the Northwestern Provinces. The official use of the title Northwestern Provinces began in 1835, and in 1902 they were joined with Oudh in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the ancient Madhyadesa under British rule, together with the custody of the puppet emperor. The new districts were amalgamated with those previously acquired from the nawab wazir of Oudh into the Ceded and Conquered Provinces. This arrangement of northern India remained till the Sikh wars of 1845 and 1849 gave the English the Punjab. In southeastern India we have seen that Lord Wellesley's conquests constituted the Madras presidency almost as it exists at the present date. In southwestern India the peshwa was reduced to a vassal of the Company, but the territories now under the governor of Bombay were not finally built up into their existing form until the last Maratha war in 1818.

Chapter XIV

THE CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH INDIA. 1805-1857

THE financial strain caused by these great operations of Lord Wellesley had meanwhile exhausted the patience of the court of directors at home. In 1805 Lord Cornwallis was sent out as governor-general a second time, with instructions to bring about peace at any price, while Holkar was still unsubdued, and with Sindhia threatening a fresh war. Cornwallis was now an old man, and broken in health. Traveling up to the north-west during the rainy season, he sank and died at Ghazipur, before he had been ten weeks in the country.

His immediate successor was Sir George Barlow. George Hilario Barlow was born in 1762 and appointed to the Bengal civil service in 1778. As chief secretary to government and later as member of the governor-general's council, he was the intimate adviser of Shore and Wellesley. He was created a baronet in 1803. After his service as acting governor-general from 1805 to 1807 he was governor of Madras from 1807 to 1812, and died in 1847. As a *locum tenens* he had no alternative but to carry out the commands of his employers. Under these orders he curtailed the area of British territory, and, in violation of engagements, abandoned the Rajput chiefs to the cruel mercies of Holkar and Sindhia. During his administration, also, occurred the mutiny of the Madras sepoys at Vellore in 1806, which, although promptly suppressed, sent a shock of insecurity through the empire. The mutiny at Vellore was due to an order of Sir John Cradock, afterward Lord Howden, the commander-in-chief in Madras, regulating the style of turban worn by the sepoys, and to another order forbidding the wearing of caste marks when in uniform. The mutiny, which broke out on July 10, 1806, was suppressed by Colonel Gillespie. The objectionable orders were withdrawn and the family of Tipu Sultan was removed from Vellore to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, was summarily recalled. The feebly econom-

1806-1808

ical policy of this interregnum proved most disastrous, but fortunately the rule soon passed into firmer hands.

Gilbert Elliot, created Baron Minto of Minto in 1798 and Earl of Minto in 1813, was governor-general from 1807 to 1813, and he consolidated the conquests which Wellesley had acquired. Lord Minto annexed Amboyna in 1809 and the Molucca group in 1810. His only military exploits were the occupation of the Island of Mauritius, and the conquest of Java by an expedition which he accompanied in person. Java was administered for the Company by Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826, knighted 1817) until its return to the Dutch in 1816. Sumatra remained in English control till 1824 under the administration of Raffles, who in 1819 founded the English power at Singapore. The condition of central India continued to be disturbed, but Lord Minto succeeded in preventing any violent outbreaks without himself having recourse to the sword. The Company had ordered him to follow a policy of non-intervention, and he managed to obey this instruction without injuring the prestige of the British name.

Under his auspices the Indian government opened relations with a new set of foreign powers, by sending embassies to the Punjab, to Afghanistan, and to Persia. Napoleon signed a treaty of alliance with Persia in 1807 and had an agent, Gardane, resident at Teheran from 1807 to 1809. This action led the English government to turn its attention to the powers on India's northwest frontier. The ambassadors had been trained in the school of Wellesley, and formed perhaps the most illustrious trio of "politicals" whom the Indian services have produced. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, who went as envoy to the Sikh court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore, was born in Calcutta on January 30, 1785, and entered the Bengal service in 1801. He was resident at Delhi from 1811 to 1819, and at Haidarabad from 1820 to 1825. In 1827 he became a member of the governor-general's council, and after his acting governor-generalship from 1835 to 1836 he was lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces from 1836 to 1838. He served as governor of Jamaica from 1839 to 1842, and governor-general of Canada from 1843 to 1845. He succeeded his father as baronet in 1822 and was created Baron Metcalfe in 1845. He died in England September 5, 1846. Mountstuart Elphinstone met the shah of Afghanistan at Peshawar. Elphinstone was born in Scotland on October 6, 1779, and entered the Bengal civil service

in 1796. In addition to his embassy to Shah Shuja at Kabul in 1808, his most important services were as resident at Poona from 1810 to 1816, and governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, where he established a legal code and a system of education. After his retirement he wrote his "History of India." He died on November 20, 1859. The envoy to Persia was John Malcolm. He was born in Scotland on May 2, 1769, and entered the Indian army in 1782. He acquired a knowledge of Persian, which led to his later promotions. He served as private secretary to the commander-in-chief and later to the governor-general. His missions at Teheran were in 1799-1801, 1808-1809, and 1810. He was made a K. C. B. in 1815, and from 1827 to 1830 he was governor of Bombay. He wrote a "History of Persia," a "Political History of India," a "Life of Clive," and other works. He died on May 30, 1833, in London. It cannot be said that these missions were fruitful of permanent results; but they introduced the English to a new set of diplomatic relations, and widened the sphere of their influence. In 1813 the East India Company's charter was renewed for twenty years, but its monopoly as a trading company with India was abolished. This act also directed the Company to allow missionaries full opportunity for work and authorized the establishment of the bishopric of Calcutta. The first bishop was Thomas Fanshaw Middleton (1769-1822), who was succeeded by Reginald Heber (1783-1826).

The successor of Lord Minto was the earl of Moira, better known by his later title as the marquis of Hastings. Francis Rawdon-Hastings was born on December 9, 1754, and entered the army in 1773. He was present at Bunker Hill and took part in the various campaigns of the American Revolution, ending with the Carolina campaign under Cornwallis. He had been known by the courtesy title of Lord Rawdon, but in 1783 was created Baron Rawdon, and succeeded as earl of Moira in the Irish peerage in 1793. He was an intimate friend and political supporter of the Prince of Wales, later George IV. He was governor-general of India from 1813 to 1823 and was created marquis of Hastings in 1817. From 1824 to 1826 he was governor of Malta, and died at sea near Naples on November 28, 1826.

The marquis of Hastings completed Lord Wellesley's conquests in central India, and left the Bombay presidency almost as it stands at present. His long rule of nine years, from 1814 to 1823,

1814-1815

was marked by two wars of the first magnitude, namely the campaigns against the Gurkhas of Nepal and the last Maratha struggle.

The Gurkhas, the present ruling race in Nepal, are Hindu immigrants, who claim a Rajput origin. The indigenous inhabitants, called Newars, belong to the Indo-Tibetan stock, and profess Buddhism. The sovereignty of the Gurkhas over Nepal dates only from 1767, in which year they overran the valley of Khatmandu, and gradually extended their power over the hills and valleys of Nepal. Organized upon a feudal basis, they soon became a terror to their neighbors, marching east into Sikkim, west into Kumaun, and south into the Gangetic plains. In the last quarter their victims were British subjects, and it became necessary to check their advance. Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto had remonstrated in vain, and nothing was left to Lord Moira but to take up arms. The campaign of 1814 was at first unsuccessful. After overcoming the natural difficulties of a malarious climate and precipitous hills, the English troops were on several occasions fairly worsted by the impetuous bravery of the little Gurkhas, whose heavy knives or *kukris* dealt terrible execution. In the cold weather of 1814 General David Ochterlony, who entered the Bengal army in 1777, advanced by way of the Sutlej and stormed one by one the hill forts which still stud the Himalayan states, now under the Punjab government, and compelled the Nepal *darbar* to sue for peace. In the following year, 1815, the same general made a brilliant march from Patna into the lofty valley of Khatmandu, and finally dictated the terms which had before been rejected, within a few miles of the capital. By the Treaty of Segauli, which defines the English relations with Nepal to the present day, the Gurkhas withdrew on the southeast from Sikkim; and on the southwest, from their advanced posts in the outer ranges of the Himalayas, which have supplied to the English the health-giving stations of Naini Tal, Mussooree, and Simla. The first house at Simla was erected in 1819 by Lieutenant Ross, assistant political agent for the Hill states. In 1827 for the first time the governor-general, Lord Amherst, spent some weeks of the summer at Simla, and the practice has been followed with considerable regularity since then. Since 1864 Simla has been regularly regarded as the summer capital of India and it is the permanent headquarters of the army.

Meanwhile the condition of central India was every year becoming more unsatisfactory. The great Maratha chiefs had learned

to live as princes, rather than as predatory leaders, but their old example of lawlessness was being followed by a new set of freebooters, known as the Pindaris. As opposed to the Marathas, who were at least a Hindu nationality bound by traditions of confederate government, the Pindaris were merely plundering bands, corresponding to the free companies of mediæval Europe. Of no common race, and without any common religion, they welcomed to their ranks the outlaws and broken tribes of all India—Afghans, Marathas, or Jats. They represented the *débris* of the Mogul empire, the broken men who had not been incorporated by the Mohammedan or the Hindu powers which sprang out of its ruins. For a time, indeed, it seemed as if the inheritance of the Mogul might pass to these armies of banditti. In Bengal, similar hordes had formed themselves out of the disbanded Mohammedan troops and the Hindu predatory castes, but they had been dispersed under the vigorous rule of Warren Hastings. In central India the evil lasted longer, attained a great scale, and was only stamped out by a regular war.

The Pindari headquarters were in Malwa, but their depredations were not confined to central India. In bands, sometimes of a few hundreds, sometimes of many thousands, they rode out on their forays as far as the opposite coasts of Madras and of Bombay. The most powerful of the Pindari captains, Amir Khan, had an organized army of many regiments, and several batteries of cannon. Two other leaders, known as Chitu and Karim, at one time paid a ransom to Sindhia of 100,000*l.* (\$500,000). To suppress the Pindari hordes, who were supported by the sympathy, more or less open, of all the Maratha chiefs, Lord Hastings in 1817 collected the strongest British army which had been seen in India, numbering 120,000 men. One-half operated from the north, the other half from the south. Sindhia was overawed, and remained quiet. Amir Khan disbanded his army, on condition of being guaranteed the possession of what is now the principality of Tonk. The remaining bodies of Pindaris were attacked in their homes, surrounded, and cut to pieces. Karim threw himself upon the mercy of the conquerors. Chitu fled to the jungles, and was killed by a tiger.

In the same year (1817), and almost in the same month (November), as that in which the Pindaris were crushed, the three great Maratha powers at Poona, Nagpur, and Indore rose separately against the British. The peshwa Baji Rao had long been

1817-1823

chafing under the terms imposed by the Treaty of Bassein in 1802. A new Treaty of Poona, in June, 1817, now freed the Gaekwar from his control, ceded fresh districts to the British for the pay of the subsidiary force, and submitted all future disputes to the decision of the English government. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, then the resident at his court, foresaw a storm, and withdrew to Kirki, whither he had ordered up a European regiment. The residency was burned down by the Marathas, and the peshwa attacked Kirki with his whole army. The attack was bravely repulsed, and the peshwa immediately fled from his capital. Almost the same plot was enacted at Nagpur, where the honor of the British name was saved by the sepoys, who defended the hill of Sitabaldi against enormous odds. The Maratha army of Holkar was defeated in the following month at the pitched battle of Mehidpur.

All open resistance was now at an end. Nothing remained but to follow up the fugitives, and to impose conditions for a general pacification. In both these duties Sir John Malcolm played a prominent part. The dominions of the peshwa were annexed to the Bombay presidency, and the nucleus of the present Central Provinces was formed out of the territory rescued from the Pindaris. The peshwa himself surrendered, and was permitted to reside at Bithur, near Cawnpur, on a pension of 80,000*l.* (\$400,000) a year. His adopted son was the infamous Nana Sahib of the Mutiny of 1857. To fill the peshwa's place as the traditional head of the Maratha confederacy, the lineal descendant of Sivaji was brought forth from obscurity, and placed upon the throne of Satara. An infant was recognized as the heir of Holkar; and a second infant was proclaimed raja of Nagpur under British guardianship. At the same time the states of Rajputana accepted the position of feudatories to the paramount British power. The map of India, as thus drawn by Lord Hastings, remained substantially unchanged until the time of Lord Dalhousie. But the proudest boast of Lord Hastings and Sir John Malcolm was, not that they had advanced the British frontier, but that they had conferred the blessings of peace and good government upon millions who had groaned under the extortions of the Marathas and Pindaris.

The marquis of Hastings was succeeded by Lord Amherst, after the interval of a few months, during which John Adams, the senior member of the governor-general's council, acted as governor-general. William Pitt Amherst was born in January, 1773,

and succeeded as Baron Amherst on the death of his uncle, who had been the British commander in America from 1758 to 1763. He went as envoy to Peking in 1816. He served as governor-general of India from 1823 to 1828 and was created Earl Amherst in 1826. He died in 1857. The Maratha war in the peninsula of India was hardly completed when the English armies had to face new enemies beyond the sea. Lord Amherst's administration is known in history by two prominent events—the first Burmese war and the capture of Bhartpur.

For years the eastern frontier of Bengal had been disturbed by Burmese raids. The peninsula of Farther India was known to the Greeks in ancient times as the Golden Chersonese. Burmese traditions state that a pious Indian prince from Benares founded a kingdom on the coast of Arakan centuries before the birth of Christ. They also assert that the southern parts of Burma were peopled by settlers from the coast of Coromandel on the Madras side of the Bay of Bengal. However this may be, it is certain that the Buddhist religion, which is professed by the Burmese at the present day, came from India at a very early date. Indeed, the state establishment of Buddhism in Burma is said to have taken place in 164 A. D. While a stream of civilization reached Burma from India on the northwest, the wild Shan tribes and other races of Tibeto-Chinese origin poured into the Irawadi Valley from the northeast. Waves of invaders thus passed over Burma during many centuries, some coming from Siam on the southeast, others from the wild mountains of the Chinese frontier on the northeast. These gradually established themselves into three separate kingdoms, namely, Arakan on the Burmese coast; Ava in the upper Valleys of the Irawadi; and Pegu in the delta of that river. They became the ruling races of Burma, races of Tibeto-Chinese descent, who professed or adopted the Buddhist religion, which had originally come from India. The three Burmese kingdoms fought against each other with all the cruelties and massacres which characterize the Tibeto-Chinese tribes; but the learning and civilization of Buddhism survived every shock and flourished around its ancient pagodas. European travelers in the sixteenth century visited Pegu and Tenasserim, which they described as flourishing marts of maritime trade. During the period of Portuguese predominance in the East, Arakan became the asylum for desperate European adventurers. With their help, the Arakanese extended

1824

their power inland, occupied Chittagong, and, under the name of the Maghs became the terror of the Gangetic delta. About 1750 a new dynasty rose in Burma, founded by Alaungpaya, or Alompra, with its capital at Ava. His descendants ruled over independent Burma until 1885.

The successors of Alompra, after having subjugated all Burma, and overrun Assam, which was then an independent kingdom,



began a series of encroachments upon the British districts of Bengal. As they rejected all peaceful proposals with scorn, Lord Amherst was at last compelled to declare war in 1824. One expedition with gunboats proceeded up the Brahmaputra into Assam. Another marched by land through Chittagong into Arakan, for the Bengal sepoys refused to go by sea. A third, and the strongest, sailed from Madras direct to the mouth of the Irawadi. This force was fitted out by Thomas Munro (1761-1827, knighted 1819),

who was governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827. Munro was famous for his earlier administrative services in the Mysore ceded districts, where he developed the rayatwari system of assessment and collection for the land revenue, which, with some modifications, is still in force in the Madras presidency. The war was protracted over two years. After a loss to the Anglo-Indian army of about 20,000 lives, chiefly from the pestilential climate, and an expenditure of 14,000,000*l.*, the king of Ava signed, in 1826, the Treaty of Yandabu. By this he abandoned all claim to Assam, and ceded to the British the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, already in the military occupation of the British. He retained the whole valley of the Irawadi, down to the sea at Rangoon.

A disputed succession led to the British intervention in Bhartpur, the great Jat state of central India. The capture of the city by Lord Combermere, in January, 1827, wiped out the repulse which Lord Lake had received in January, 1805. Artillery could make little impression upon the massive walls of mud, but at last a breach was effected by mining, and Bhartpur was taken by storm, thus removing the popular notion throughout India that it was impregnable—a notion which had threatened to become a political danger. Bhartpur received a new native sovereign under English protection and continues to be one of the native states.

The acting governor-general after Amherst's departure was William Butterworth Bayley, who was born in 1782 and reached India in 1799, where he received his training at the College of Fort William and under the eye of Lord Wellesley. He was a member of the governor-general's council from 1825 to 1830; chairman of the court of directors from 1840 to 1854, and died in 1860. The next governor-general was Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras, twenty years earlier, at the time of the mutiny of Vellore. William Cavendish Bentinck was born on September 14, 1774, and as second son of the duke of Portland was known by the courtesy title of Lord William Bentinck. He entered the army in 1791 and served in the various campaigns against the French down to 1814. His seven years' rule, from 1828 to 1835, was not signalized by any of those victories or extensions of territory by which chroniclers measure the growth of an empire, but, nevertheless, it formed an epoch in administrative reform, and in the slow process by which a subject population is won over to venerate, as well as to obey, its foreign rulers. The

1828-1829

modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators, ruling the country with an eye single to the good of the natives, may almost be said to begin with Lord William Bentinck. According to the inscription upon his statue at Calcutta, from the pen of Macaulay: "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge."

Lord William Bentinck's first care on arrival in India was to restore equilibrium to the finances, which were tottering under the burden imposed upon them by the Burmese War. This he effected by three series of measures—by reductions in permanent expenditure, amounting to one and a half millions sterling a year; by augmenting the revenue from land which had unfairly escaped assessment; by duties on the opium of Malwa. He also widened the gates by which educated natives could enter the service of the Company.

Some of these reforms were distasteful to the covenanted service and to the officers of the army, but Lord William was staunchly supported by the court of directors and by the ministry at home. The East India Company, after the battle of Plassey in 1757, first became interested in the opium culture, and in 1773 began the control of the trade in it with China. Prior to 1773 the annual export from India to China was about 200 chests, in 1776 it was 1000 chests, and 4054 chests in 1790. The annual average from 1820 to 1830 was 16,877 chests. Beginning with 1796 the Chinese government imposed severe penalties on the use of opium. China seems regularly to have produced more opium than India in spite of the laws against its use. Troubles growing out of this opium trade with China led, in Lord Auckland's administration, to the outbreak of the First China War, generally known as the Opium War. Sir Hugh Gough, with an army sent from Madras, brought the war to a successful close by the capture of Canton and other forts and cities. By the Peace of Nanking in 1842 England received the island of Hong Kong and the opening of the first of the treaty ports.

Bentinck's most memorable acts are the abolition of *sati* (suttee), or widow-burning, and the suppression of the *thags* (thugs). At this distance of time it is difficult to realize the degree to which these two barbarous practices had corrupted the social sys-

tem of the Hindus. European research has proved that the text in the Vedas adduced to authorize the immolation of Hindu widows was a willful mistranslation, but the practice had been enshrined in Hindu opinion by the authority of centuries, and had acquired the sanctity of a religious rite. The Emperor Akbar tried to prohibit it, but failed to put it down. The early English rulers did not dare to violate the religious traditions of the people. In the year 1817 no fewer than 700 widows are said to have been burned alive in the Bengal presidency alone. To this day the holy spots of Hindu pilgrimage are thickly dotted with little white pillars, each commemorating a *sati*. In spite of strenuous opposition, both from Europeans and from natives, Lord William Bentinck carried a regulation in council, on December 4, 1829, by which all who abetted *sati* were declared guilty of "culpable homicide." The honor of suppressing *thags* must be shared between Lord William Bentinck and Captain Sleeman. *Thags* were hereditary assassins, who made strangling their profession. They traveled in gangs, disguised as merchants or pilgrims, and were banded together by an oath based on the rites of the bloody goddess Kali. Between 1826 and 1835 as many as 1562 *thags* were apprehended in different parts of British India; and, by the evidence of approvers, this moral plague-spot was gradually stamped out. A special jail for their protection was established at Jabalpur, since detection and proof could be obtained only from members of the bands, so stringent was their secrecy.

Two other historical events are connected with the administration of Lord William Bentinck. In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was again renewed for twenty years, but on condition that the Company should abandon its trade entirely, alike with India and China, and permit Europeans to settle freely in India. At the same time a fourth or law member was added to the governor-general's council, who need not necessarily be a servant of the Company; and a commission was appointed to revise and codify the law. Thomas Babington Macaulay, afterward Baron Macaulay, was the first legal member of council, and the first president of the law commission.

In 1830 it was found necessary to take Mysore under British administration, because of an insurrection caused by the misgovernment and oppressive taxation of the maharaja, who was deposed under clauses of the treaty of 1799. This arrangement con-

1833-1836

tinued until March, 1881, when Mysore was restored to native government, and the lawful heir enthroned. In 1834 the frantic misrule of the raja of Coorg brought on a short and sharp war. The raja was permitted to retire to Benares; and the brave and proud inhabitants of his mountainous little territory decided to place themselves under the sway of the Company. This was the only annexation effected by Lord William Bentinck, and it was done "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people." He retired in 1835.

Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded Lord William Bentinck, being senior member of council. His short term of office is memorable for the measure which his predecessor had initiated, but which he carried into execution, for giving entire liberty to the press. Public opinion in India, as well as the express wish of the court of directors at home, pointed to Metcalfe as the fittest person to carry out the policy of Bentinck, not provisionally, but as governor-general for a full term.

Party exigencies, however, led to the appointment of Lord Auckland. George Eden was born in Kent, England, on August 25, 1784. He succeeded his father as Baron Auckland in 1814. He was president of the board of trade from 1830 to 1834, and in 1835, and first lord of the admiralty in 1834, and from 1846 to 1849. His term as governor-general was from 1836 to 1842. He was accompanied to India by his sister, the Honorable Emily Eden (1797-1869), the novelist, who described her experiences in "Up the County" (1844), "Portraits of the People and Princes of India" (1866), and "Letters from India," edited by her niece (1872). From this date commences a new era of war and conquest, which may be said to have lasted for twenty years. All looked peaceful, until Lord Auckland, prompted by his evil genius, attempted to place Shah Shuja upon the throne of Kabul—an attempt conducted with gross mismanagement, and ending in the annihilation of the British garrison placed in that city. Lord Auckland owed much to his group of able secretaries, William Hay Macnaghten, John Russell Colvin, and Henry Whitelock Torrens (1806-1852), but their responsibility for the acts of the governor-general is open to question. The responsibility seems to rest chiefly upon the authorities in London. Lord Melbourne, the prime minister, had Lord Palmerston for foreign secretary and Sir John Hobhouse for president of the board of control.

Almost for the first time since the days of the sultans of Ghazni and Ghor, Afghanistan had obtained a national king, in 1747, in Ahmad Shah Durani. This resolute soldier found his opportunity in the confusion which followed the death of the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah. Before his own decease in 1773, Ahmad Shah had conquered a wide empire, from Herat to Peshawar, and from Kashmir to Sind. His intervention on the field of Panipat (1761) turned back the tide of Maratha conquest, and replaced a Mohammedan emperor on the throne of Delhi, but Ahmad Shah never cared to settle down in India, and kept state alternately at his two Afghan capitals of Kabul and Kandahar. The Durani kings were prolific in children, who fought to the death with one another on each succession. At last, in 1826, Dost Mohammed, head of the powerful Barakzai family, succeeded in establishing himself as ruler of Kabul, with the title of amir, while two fugitive brothers of the Durani line were living under British protection at Ludhiana, on the Punjab frontier.

The attention of the English government had been directed to Afghan affairs ever since the time of Lord Wellesley, who feared that Zeman Shah, then holding his court at Lahore (1800), might follow in the path of Ahmad Shah, and overrun Hindustan. The growth of the powerful Sikh kingdom of Ranjit Singh, however, gradually dispelled such alarms for the future. Subsequently, in 1809, while a French invasion of India was still a possibility to be guarded against, Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent by Lord Minto on a mission to Shah Shuja, brother of Zeman Shah, to form a defensive alliance. Before the year expired Shah Shuja had been driven into exile, and a third brother, Mahmud Shah, was on the throne.

In 1837, when the curtain rises upon the drama of English interference in Afghanistan, the usurper Dost Mohammed Barakzai was firmly established at Kabul. His great ambition was to recover Peshawar from the Sikhs. When, therefore, Captain Alexander Burnes arrived on a mission from Lord Auckland, with the ostensible object of opening trade, the Dost was willing to promise everything, if only he could get Peshawar. Lord Auckland had another and more important object in view. At this time the Russians were advancing rapidly in central Asia, and a Persian army, not without Russian support, was besieging Herat, the traditional bulwark of Afghanistan on the west.

1837-1841

One of the principal observers of this Russian advance was Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810-1895), who was employed in Persia from 1833 to 1839 in reorganizing the Persian army. He made a memorable ride of 750 miles in 150 consecutive hours to warn the British minister at Teheran of the presence of a Russian agent at Herat. Rawlinson served under Macnaghten and others throughout the Afghan troubles. Later as consul at Bagdad he was the constant correspondent of Sir Stratford Canning, the English minister at Constantinople. He was knighted in 1856. He was one of the earliest and most persistent of English Russophobes, and his writings are valuable expositions of that attitude.

The defense of Herat was conducted by an Anglo-Indian official, Eldred Pottinger (1811-1843), who was traveling in Afghanistan in disguise when the siege began in 1837. A Russian envoy was at Kabul at the same time as Burnes. The latter was unable to satisfy the demands of Dost Mohammed in the matter of Peshawar, and returned to India unsuccessful. Lord Auckland forthwith resolved upon the hazardous plan of placing a more subservient ruler upon the throne of Kabul. Shah Shuja, one of the two royal Afghan exiles at Ludhiana, was selected for the purpose. At this time both the Punjab and Sind were independent kingdoms; and both lay between British India and Afghanistan. Sind was the less powerful of the two, and accordingly a British army, escorting Shah Shuja, made its way through Sind into southern Afghanistan by way of the Bolan Pass. Kandahar surrendered, Ghazni was taken by storm, Dost Mohammed fled across the Hindu Kush, and Shah Shuja was triumphantly led into the Bala Hissar (the citadel and royal residence) at Kabul in August, 1839. After one more brave struggle, Dost Mohammed surrendered, and was sent to Calcutta as a state prisoner. The governor-general, Baron Auckland, was created earl of Auckland in 1839.

Although the English could enthrone Shah Shuja, they could not win for him the hearts of the Afghans. To that nation he seemed a degenerate exile thrust back upon them by foreign arms. During two years Afghanistan remained in the military occupation of the British. The catastrophe occurred in November, 1841, when the English political agent, Sir Alexander Burnes, was assassinated in the city of Kabul.

The troops in the cantonments were under the command of

William George Keith Elphinstone (not to be confused with Mountstuart Elphinstone). The general was born in 1782 and entered the army in 1804. He became a major-general in 1837 and went to India in 1839. In 1841 he was appointed to command at Kabul. Sir William Hay Macnaghten was the political officer. He was born in 1793 and entered the East India Company's service in 1809. He became secretary to Bentinck in 1830 and was connected with the secretariat until his appointment as minister at Kabul on October 1, 1838. He was created a baronet in 1840. General Elphinstone, an old man, proved unequal to the responsibilities of the position. Macnaghten was treacherously murdered, December 23, 1841, at an interview with the Afghan chief, Akbar Khan, eldest son of Dost Mohammed. After lingering in its cantonments for two months, the British army set off in the depth of winter, under a fallacious guarantee from the Afghan leaders, to find its way back to India through the passes. When it started it numbered 4000 fighting men, with 12,000 camp-followers. A single European survivor, Dr. William Brydon (1811-1873), reached the friendly walls of Jalalabad, where General Robert Henry Sale was gallantly holding out. The rest perished in the snowy defiles of Khurd-Kabul and Jagdalak, from the knives and matchlocks of the Afghans, or from the effects of cold. A few prisoners, chiefly women, children, and officers, were considerately treated by the orders of Akbar Khan.

The first Afghan enterprise, begun in a spirit of aggression, and conducted amid dissensions and mismanagement, had ended in the disgrace of the British arms. The real loss, which amounted only to a single garrison, was magnified by the horrors of the winter march, and by the completeness of the annihilation. Within a month after the news reached Calcutta, Lord Auckland had been superseded by Lord Ellenborough. Edward Law was born in 1790 and succeeded as Baron Ellenborough in 1818. He was lord privy seal in 1828, and president of the board of control from 1828 to 1830, in 1838, in 1841, and in 1858. His first impulse was to be satisfied with drawing off in safety the garrisons from Kandahar and Jalalabad, but bolder counsels were forced upon him. General George Pollock, who was marching straight through the Punjab to relieve General Sale, was allowed to penetrate to Kabul. General William Nott, although ordered to withdraw from Kandahar, resolved to go round by way of Kabul. Lord Ellenborough gave



THE AMIR OF SIND SURRENDERS TO SIR CHARLES NAPIER

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

1842-1844

his commands in well-chosen words, which would leave his generals responsible for any disaster. General Nott accepted that responsibility, and, instead of retreating southeast to the Indus, boldly marched north to Kabul. After hard fighting the two British armies, under Pollock and Nott, met at their common destination in Kabul, in September, 1842. The great *basar* of Kabul was blown up with gunpowder, to fix a stigma upon the city; the British prisoners were recovered; and the armies marched back to India, leaving Dost Mohammed to take undisputed possession of his throne. The drama closed with a bombastic proclamation from Lord Ellenborough, who had caused the gates from the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni to be carried back as a memorial of "Somnath revenged." The gates were a modern forgery; and their theatrical procession through the Punjab formed a vainglorious sequel to Lord Ellenborough's timidity, while the fate of the British armies hung in the balance.

Lord Ellenborough, who loved military pomp, had his tastes gratified by two more wars. In 1843 the Mohammedan rulers of Sind, known as the mirs or amirs, whose chief fault was that they would not surrender their independence, were crushed by Sir Charles Napier. Charles James Napier was born in London on August 10, 1782, and entered the army in 1794. He served during the Napoleonic wars, in America during the War of 1812, in the Ionian Islands from 1819 to 1830, and in India from 1841 to 1847, and from 1849 to 1850. He was knighted in 1838. The story goes that Napier's dispatch announcing the conquest of Sind, of which he disapproved, consisted of the one word, "*peccavi*," I have sinned (Sind).

The victory of Miani, in which 3000 British troops defeated 12,000 Baluchis, is one of the brilliant feats of arms in Anglo-Indian history, but valid reasons could scarcely be found for the annexation of the country. In the same year a disputed succession at Gwalior, fomented by feminine intrigue, resulted in an outbreak of the overgrown army which the Sindhia family kept up. Peace was restored by the battles of Maharajpur and Panniar, at the former of which Lord Ellenborough was present in person.

In 1844 Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the court of directors, who differed from him on points of administration, and distrusted his erratic genius. He was succeeded by a veteran soldier, Sir Henry Hardinge, who was born in Kent, England, on March

30, 1785, and entered the army in 1799. He served throughout the Peninsular War and the Waterloo campaign, and was knighted in 1815. He was secretary at war from 1828 to 1839 and from 1841 to 1844, and Irish secretary in 1830, and from 1834 to 1835. His governor-generalship lasted from 1844 to 1848. It was felt on all sides that a trial of strength between the British and the one remaining Hindu power in India, the great Sikh nation, was near.

The Sikhs were not a nationality like the Marathas, but originally a religious sect, bound together by the additional tie of military discipline. They trace their origin to Nanak Shah, a pious Hindu reformer, born near Lahore in 1469, before the ascendancy of either Moguls or Portuguese in India. Nanak, like other zealous preachers of his time, preached the abolition of caste, the unity of the godhead, and the duty of leading a pure life. From Nanak ten *gurus* or apostles are traced down to Govind Singh in 1708, with whom the succession stopped. Cruelly persecuted by the ruling Mohammedans, almost exterminated under the miserable successors of Aurangzeb, the Sikh martyrs clung to their faith with unflinching zeal. At last the downfall of the Mogul empire transformed the sect into a territorial power. It was the only political organization remaining in the Punjab. The Sikhs in the north, and the Marathas in southern and central India, grew into the two great Hindu powers who helped to partition the Mogul empire.

Even before the rise of Ranjit Singh, offshoots from the Sikh *misl*s or confederacies, each led by its elected *sardar* or chief, had carved out for themselves feudal principalities along the banks of the Sutlej, some of which endure to the present day. Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab, was born in 1780. In his twentieth year he obtained the appointment of governor of Lahore from the Afghan king, and formed the project of building up his personal rule on the religious fanaticism of his countrymen. He organized the Sikhs, or "the liberated," into an army under European officers, which for steadiness and religious fervor has had no parallel since the "Ironsides" of Cromwell. From Lahore, as his capital, he extended his conquests south to Multan, west to Peshawar, and north to Kashmir. On the east side alone he was hemmed in by the Sutlej, up to which river the authority of the British government had advanced in 1804. Till his death in 1839, Ranjit Singh was ever loyal to the engagements which he entered into with Metcalfe in 1809. He left no son capable of wielding

1845-1846

his scepter. Lahore was torn by dissensions between rival generals, ministers, and queens. The only strong power in the Punjab was the army of the *khalsa*, or central council of the Sikhs, which, since the British disaster in Afghanistan, burned to measure its strength with the British sepoy. Ranjit Singh's skillful European generals, Avitabile and Court, were foolishly ousted from their commands in the Sikh army, and the supreme military power was vested in a series of *panchayats*, or elective committees of five. General Avitabile was a Neapolitan by birth who had been in the Persian service. He was long famous for the vigor with which he administered affairs at Peshawar. Colonel Court was a Frenchman who had been educated at the Ecole Polytechnique at Paris. The most famous of Ranjit Singh's officers were, however, two former soldiers of Napoleon, General Ventura, an Italian, and General Allard (1785-1839), a Frenchman, both of whom had tried their fortunes in Egypt and in Persia. Colonel Gardiner, an Irishman, and Colonel Van Cortlandt were among the other officers of Ranjit Singh.

In 1845 the Sikh army, numbering 60,000 men, with 150 guns, crossed the Sutlej and invaded British territory. Sir Hugh Gough, the commander, accompanied by the governor-general, Hardinge, who showed his generous and knightly character by waiving his rights and serving as second in command under Gough, hurried up to the frontier. Within three weeks four pitched battles were fought, at Mudki, Firozshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon. Aliwal was won on January 28, 1846, by General Harry Smith (1788-1860), a veteran of the Peninsular War, of the War of 1812, and of the Waterloo campaign. Smith was made a baronet in 1847 and was governor of the Cape Colony from 1847 to 1852, where he is commemorated by the towns of Aliwal, Harrismith, and his wife by Ladysmith.

The British loss on each occasion was heavy; but by the last victory the Sikhs were fairly driven back across the Sutlej, and Lahore surrendered to the British. By the terms of peace which were granted, Dhulip Singh, a supposed infant son of Ranjit by a dancing girl, was recognized as raja; the Jalandhar Doab, or tract between the Sutlej and the Beas, was annexed; the Sikh army was limited to a specified number; Major Henry Lawrence was appointed to be resident at Lahore. Henry Montgomery Lawrence was born in Ceylon on June 28, 1806, and was educated at Addiscombe and

began his service in the Bengal army in 1823. He was resident in Nepal from 1843 to 1846, served in the Punjab from 1846 to 1853, in Rajputana from 1853 to 1856 and in Oudh from 1856 to 1857. He was knighted in 1848. A British force was sent to garrison the Punjab for a period of eight years. Sir Henry Hardinge received a peerage, and returned to England in 1848.

Lord Dalhousie succeeded. James Andrew Brown Ramsay was born in Scotland, on April 22, 1812. He succeeded his father in 1838 as Baron Dalhousie in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and as earl of Dalhousie in the Scotland peerage. He was president of the board of trade from 1845 to 1856. The eight years' rule, from 1848 to 1856, of this greatest of Indian proconsuls left more conspicuous results than that of any governor-general since Lord Wellesley, perhaps even since Clive. A high-minded statesman, of a most sensitive conscience, and earnestly desiring peace, Lord Dalhousie found himself forced against his will to fight two wars, and to embark on a policy of annexation. His campaigns in the Punjab and in Burma ended in large acquisitions of territory; while Nagpur, Oudh, and several minor states also came under British rule, through failure of direct heirs.

Dalhousie's deepest interest lay in the improvement of the moral and material condition of the country. The system of administration carried out in the conquered Punjab, by the two Lawrences and their assistants, is probably the most successful piece of governing ever accomplished by Englishmen. John Laird Mair Lawrence, younger brother of Henry Lawrence, was born in Yorkshire, England, on March 4, 1811, and was educated at Haileybury. He went to Calcutta in 1830. From 1846 to 1848 he was administrator of the Jalandhar Doab, and from 1848 to 1857 he was either joint or sole administrator of the Punjab. After several years in England he returned to India as viceroy from 1864 to 1869. He was knighted in 1856 and created Baron Lawrence in 1869. He died on June 26, 1879, in London.

The chief coadjutor of the Lawrences was their friend, Robert Montgomery (1809-1887), who after valuable services in the Punjab became chief commissioner of Oudh in 1858 and was knighted in 1859 and served as lieutenant-governor of the Punjab from 1859 to 1865. He was a brother-in-law of Thomason. From 1849 to 1853 the Punjab was administered by a board of three composed of the two Lawrences and Charles Grenville Mansell (1806-1886),

1853-1854

who was soon superseded by Montgomery. In 1853 John Lawrence was put in sole control. Among the men associated with the Lawrences the most notable were Edwardes and Nicolson; James Abbott (1807-1896, knighted in 1894), who won fame as commissioner of Hazara, where the city of Abbottabad preserves his name; Reynell George Taylor (1822-1886), and Richard Temple (1826-1902, baronet 1876), who was private secretary to John Lawrence, and later the occupant of many important posts.

Mention should be made at this point of the exceedingly valuable services rendered by James Thomason (1804-1853) as lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces from 1843 to 1853, and by his successor, John Russell Colvin, who was formerly secretary to Lord Auckland, and who died at Agra during the Mutiny. The administration of Sind by Henry Bartle Edward Frere (1815-1884, knighted 1859) as chief commissioner from 1850 to 1859 was also extremely able.

Burma has prospered under British rule not less than the Punjab. In both cases, Lord Dalhousie himself laid the foundations of administrative success, and deserves a large share of the credit. No branch of the administration escaped his reforming hand. He founded the public works department, with a view to creating the network of roads and canals which now covers India. He opened the Ganges Canal, still the largest work of the kind in the country. It was begun as a result of the famine of 1837-1838. Work was begun in 1842 and the canal was opened on April 8, 1854. The canal starts at Hardwar and extends to Jeyra, where it joins the Lower Ganges Canal, which was constructed twenty years later. The length of the main line of the Ganges Canal is 445 miles. It is intended primarily for irrigation, but is also used for navigation. The Ganges Canal cost more than \$13,000,000 and irrigates 900,000 acres. The Lower Ganges Canal irrigates 600,000 acres and the total cost of the system has been about \$25,000,000. It has been a paying investment financially as well as an aid to prevent famine. Lord Dalhousie turned the sod of the first Indian railroad. This was begun in 1850 and in 1853 it was opened for traffic, being that portion of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway which is between Bombay and Shana, a distance of about twenty miles.

He promoted steam communication with England by way of

the Red Sea. The mails were first regularly carried by the Suez route in 1837. The navigation of the Red Sea remained in the control of the East India Company until 1854. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company was incorporated in December, 1840, and sent its first steamer to India in 1842, and in 1845 began the regular monthly service around the Cape. In 1854 the



Peninsular and Oriental Company was able to open the regular service by the Red Sea route, which was improved by the railway across the isthmus in 1859, and by the canal in 1869. The service is now weekly. The time from London to Bombay is now 14 days as opposed to 23 before the canal was opened.

Dalhousie also introduced cheap postage and the electric telegraph. The adhesive postage stamp was first used in India by Sir Bartle Frere in Sind and was adopted for general use in 1854, and the rate made uniform for all distances in India at one-half anna

1848-1856

per one-half tola, that is about one cent per ninety grains in weight. The rate has since been lowered.

The first director general of telegraphs in India was William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, who was born in Limerick in 1809 and received the degree of doctor of medicine from Edinburgh in 1830. In 1833 he became assistant surgeon in the Bengal army, where he devoted himself to the study of telegraphy. Lord Dalhousie authorized him to construct an experimental line and in 1852 he was appointed director general of telegraphs and authorized to construct an extensive system. The 800-mile line from Calcutta to Agra was opened in March, 1854, and two years later 4000 miles were in operation, including lines to Bombay and Madras. Lawrence said: "The telegraph saved India" during the Mutiny. O'Shaughnessy was knighted in 1856. He retired in 1861 and changed his name to William O'Shaughnessy Brooke. He died January 10, 1889. Telegraph communication between India and England was opened in 1865 by the Persian Gulf line.

It is Lord Dalhousie's misfortune that these benefits are too often forgotten in the recollections of the Mutiny, which followed his policy of annexation, after the firm hand which had remodeled British India was withdrawn.

By act of August 20, 1853, the charter of the East India Company was renewed for an indefinite term of years. This act was amended a year later. One important feature of the act of 1853 was the establishment of the office of lieutenant-governor of Bengal, which relieved the governor-general of immediate charge of local administration. These acts were largely the work of Sir Charles Wood (1800-1885, created Viscount Halifax 1866), who was president of the board of control from 1852 to 1855. Sir Charles Wood's famous dispatch of July, 1854, based upon information furnished by Dalhousie, outlined the system of Indian education which Dalhousie proceeded to establish and which has been perfected by his successors. Wood was later secretary of state for India during the important period from 1859 to 1866.

Lord Dalhousie had not been six months in India before the second Sikh or Punjab War broke out. Two British officers were treacherously assassinated at Multan. Unfortunately, Henry Lawrence, the resident at Lahore, was at home on sick leave. The British army was not ready to act in the hot weather; and, despite the single-handed exertions of Lieutenant Herbert Benjamin Ed-

wardes, this outbreak of fanaticism led to a general rising in the Punjab. The *khalsa* army of the Sikhs again came together, and once more fought on even terms with the British. On the fatal field of Chilianwala, which English patriotism prefers to call a drawn battle, the British lost 2400 officers and men, four guns, and the colors of three regiments, January 13, 1849. Before reinforcements could come out from England, with Sir Charles Napier as commander-in-chief, Lord Gough had restored his reputation by the crowning victory of Gujrat, which absolutely destroyed the Sikh army. Gujrat (not to be confused with the Gujarat) is located near the River Chenab, north of Lahore. Multan had previously fallen, and the allied Mohammedan cavalry from Afghanistan, who had forgotten their religious antipathy to the Sikhs, and joined with them in a common hatred of the British name, were chased back with ignominy to their native hills. The Punjab, annexed by proclamation on March 29, 1849, became a British province—a virgin field for the administrative talents of Dalhousie and the two Lawrences. Maharaja Dhulip Singh received an allowance of 58,000*l.* a year, on which he lived for many years as an English country gentleman in Norfolk. The famous diamond, the Koh-i-nur, which had belonged to Ranjit Singh, passed into English hands at this time, and in July, 1850, was presented to Queen Victoria. In 1849 the earl of Dalhousie was advanced to a marquissate.

The first step in the pacification of the Punjab was a general disarmament, which resulted in the delivery of no fewer than 120,000 weapons of various kinds. Then followed a settlement of the land tax, village by village, at an assessment much below the rates to which it had been raised by Sikh exactions; and the introduction of a loose but equitable code of civil and criminal procedure. Roads and canals were laid out by Colonel Robert Cornelis Napier, later created Baron Napier of Magdala.

The security of British peace, and the personal influence of British officers, inaugurated a new era of prosperity, which was felt to the farthest corners of the province. It thus happened that, when the Mutiny broke out in 1857, the Punjab remained not only quiet, but loyal.

The second Burmese war, in 1852, arose out of the ill-treatment of some European merchants at Rangoon, and the insults offered to the captain of a British frigate who had been sent to remonstrate.

1846-1856

The whole valley of the Irawadi, from Rangoon up to Prome, was occupied in a few months. As the king of Ava refused to treat, the conquered tracts of lower Burma were annexed by proclamation, on December 20, 1852, under the name of Pegu, to the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, which had been acquired in 1826, after the first Burmese war.

Since annexation, the inhabitants of Rangoon had multiplied fourteenfold by 1891. The trade of the port, which four years after its annexation (1857-1858) amounted to 2,131,055*l.*, had increased in 1881-1882 to 11,723,781*l.* The towns and the rural tracts have alike prospered. Before 1826 Amherst district was the scene of perpetual warfare between the kings of Siam and Pegu, and was stripped of inhabitants. In February, 1827, a Talaing chief, with 10,000 followers, settled in the neighborhood of Maulmain; and, after a few years, a further influx of 20,000 immigrants took place. In 1855 the population of Amherst district amounted to 83,146 souls; in 1860, to 130,953; and in 1881, to 301,086. Or, to take the case of a seaport. In 1826, when the British annexed the province of Arakan, Akyab was a poor fishing village. By 1830 it had developed into a little town, with a trade valued at 7000*l.* In 1881 the trade approached 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling; so that the trade of Akyab multiplied nearly four hundredfold in fifty years. The population of lower Burma increased from 1,250,000 in 1855 to over 4,500,000 in 1891. The annexation of the kingdom of Burma in 1886 made the total population in 1891 more than 7,700,000, which was increased to 10,500,000 in 1901.

Lord Dalhousie's dealings with the feudatory states of India revealed the whole nature of the man. That rulers exist only for the good of the ruled, was his supreme axiom of government, of which he gave a conspicuous example in his own daily life. That British administration was better for the people than native rule, seemed to him to follow from this axiom. The truth is that the system of British protectorates, as developed by Lord Wellesley and his successors, had proved by no means a complete success. It practically secured to the native chiefs their principalities and revenues, however they might abuse their position and oppress their subjects. A remedy for this state of things was worked out in the India of Victoria by enforcing a higher standard of personal responsibility on the feudatory princes of India, but in Lord Dalhousie's time the old unreformed system was bearing its last and

worst fruits. Dalhousie was thus led to regard native chiefs as mischievous anomalies, to be abolished by every fair means. Good faith must be kept with princes on the throne, and with their legitimate heirs, but no false sentiment should preserve dynasties which had forfeited sympathy by generations of misrule, or prolong those that had no natural successor. The "doctrine of lapse" was the practical application of these principles, complicated by the Indian practice of adoption. It has never been doubted that, according to Hindu private law, an adopted son entirely fills the place of a natural son, whether to perform the religious obsequies of his father or to inherit his property. In all respects he continues the rights of the deceased. It was argued, however, both as a matter of historical fact and on grounds of political expediency, that the succession to a throne stood upon a different footing. The paramount power could not recognize such a right, which might be used as a fraud to hand over the happiness of millions to a base-born impostor. Here came in Lord Dalhousie's maxim of "the good of the governed." In his mind the benefits to be conferred through British administration weighed heavier than a superstitious and often fraudulent fiction of inheritance.

When a native chief left direct male heirs of his body, Lord Dalhousie recognized their right to succeed alike to the private fortune and the public government of their father, but when there was only an adopted son, Lord Dalhousie, while scrupulously respecting the claims of the heirs to the private fortune of the late chief, denied the right of the adopted son to succeed to the public government of the state. He held the government of a native state to be a public trust; he also held that, in the absence of direct male issue with a lawful claim to succeed, the succession must be decided by the British government, not in the interests of the family of the late chief, but in the interests of the people. Those interests he believed to be most effectually protected by bringing them under direct British rule.

The first state to escheat to the British government, in accordance with these principles, was Satara, which had been reconstituted by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the peshwa in 1818. The raja of Satara, the last direct representative of Sivaji, died without a son in 1848, and his deathbed adoption of a son was set aside in 1849. In the same year the Rajput state of Karauli was saved by the court of directors, who drew a fine distinction be-

1848-1856

tween a dependent principality and a protected ally. In 1853 Jhansi suffered the same fate as Satara. The most conspicuous application of the doctrine of lapse was the case of Nagpur. The last of the Maratha Bhonslas, a dynasty older than the British government in India, died without a son, natural or adopted, in 1853. His territories were annexed, and became part of the Central Provinces. That year also saw British administration extended to the Berars, or the Assigned Districts, which the nizam of Haidarabad was induced to hand over as a territorial guarantee for the subsidies which he perpetually left in arrear. The relics of three other dynasties also passed away in 1853, although without any attendant accretion to British territory. In the extreme south the titular nawab of the Karnatik and the titular raja of Tanjore both died without heirs. Their rank and their pensions died with them, but compassionate allowances were continued to their families. In the north of India Baji Rao, the ex-peshwa, who had been dethroned in 1818, lived on till 1853 in the enjoyment of his annual pension of 80,000*l.* His adopted son, Nana Sahib, inherited his accumulated savings, but could obtain no further recognition.

Lord Dalhousie annexed the kingdom of Oudh on different grounds. Ever since the nawab wazir, Shuja-ud-daula, received back his forfeited territories of Oudh from Lord Clive in 1765, the existence of his dynasty had depended on the protection of British bayonets. Guarded alike from foreign invasion and from domestic rebellion, the line of Oudh nawabs had sunk into private debauchees and public oppressors. Their one virtue was steady loyalty to the British government. The fertile districts between the Ganges and the Gogra, which now support a denser agricultural population than almost any rural area of the size on this globe, had been groaning for generations under an anarchy for which each British governor-general felt himself in part responsible. Warning after warning had been given to the nawabs, who had assumed the title of shah or king, since 1819, that they must "put their house in order." What the benevolent Bentinck and the soldierly Hardinge had only threatened, was now performed by Lord Dalhousie, who united an equal honesty of purpose with sterner decision of character. He laid the whole case before the court of directors. After long and painful hesitation, the court of directors resolved on annexation. Lord Dalhousie, then on the eve of retiring, felt that it would be unfair to bequeath this perilous

task to his successor in the first moments of his rule. The tardy decision of the court of directors left him, however, only a few weeks to carry out the work, but he solemnly believed that work to be his duty to the people of Oudh. "With this feeling on my mind," he wrote privately, "and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt."

Accordingly, at the commencement of 1856, the last year of his rule, Dalhousie gave orders to General Outram, the "Bayard of India," then resident at the court of Lucknow, to assume the administration of Oudh, on the ground that "the British government would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions." The proclamation was issued on February 13, 1856. The king of Oudh, Wajid Ali, bowed to irresistible force, although he refused to recognize the justice of his deposition. After a mission to England by way of protest and appeal, he settled down in the pleasant suburb of Garden Reach, near Calcutta, in the enjoyment of a pension of 120,000*l.* a year. Oudh was thus annexed without a blow, but this measure, on which Lord Dalhousie looked back with the proudest sense of rectitude, was perhaps the act of his rule that most alarmed native public opinion.

The marquis of Dalhousie resigned office in March, 1856, being then only forty-four years of age; but he carried home with him the seeds of a lingering illness which resulted in his death in 1860. Excepting Cornwallis, he was the first, though by no means the last, of English statesmen who have fallen victims to their devotion to India's needs. Lord Dalhousie completed the fabric of British rule in India. The Indian empire, as mapped out by Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings during the first quarter of the century, had received the addition of Sind in 1843. The marquis of Dalhousie finally filled in the wide spaces covered by Oudh, the Central Provinces, and smaller states within India, together with the great outlying territories of the Punjab on the northwestern frontier, and the richest part of British Burma beyond the sea.

The great governor-general was succeeded by his friend, Charles John Canning, third son of George Canning. Lord Can-

1856-1857

ning was born on December 14, 1812. In 1837 he succeeded his mother as Viscount Canning in the Irish peerage. He was under secretary of state for foreign affairs from 1841 to 1846 and postmaster general from 1853 to 1855. He became governor-general of India in 1856 and upon the transfer of India to the crown became the first viceroy of India, and was created Earl Canning in 1859. He died in London, June 17, 1862, a few weeks after his return from India. Lady Canning, who was a daughter of Lord Stuart de Rothesay, was a popular social leader in London and in Calcutta. She died in India in 1861.

At the farewell banquet in England, given to him by the court of directors, Lord Canning uttered these prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." In the following year the sepoys of the Bengal army mutinied, and all the valley of the Ganges from Patna to Delhi was enveloped in the flame.

Chapter XV

THE SEPOY MUTINY OF 1857

THE various motives assigned for the Mutiny appear inadequate to the Western mind. The truth seems to be that native opinion throughout India was in a ferment, predisposing men to believe the wildest stories, and to rush into action in a paroxysm of terror. Panic acts on an oriental population like drink upon a European mob. The annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, although dictated by the most enlightened considerations, was distasteful to the native mind. The spread of education, the appearance at the same moment of the steam engine and the telegraph wire, seemed to reveal a deep plan for substituting an English for an Indian civilization. The Bengal sepoys especially thought that they could see further than the rest of their countrymen. Most of them were Hindus of high caste; many of them were recruited from Oudh. They regarded reforms on Western lines as attacks on their own nationality, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant. They believed it was by their prowess that the Punjab had been conquered, and that all India was held. The numerous dethroned princes, or their heirs and widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of this spirit of disaffection and panic. They had heard of the Crimean War, and were told that Russia was the perpetual enemy of England. The Company's munificent pensions had supplied the funds with which they could buy the aid of skillful intriguers. The Mutiny was confined to the Bengal army, which recognized the caste system, while the Madras and Bombay armies, which disregarded caste, remained loyal. The ruling native princes remained true to the English government, sometimes under sore temptations, as in the case of Sindhia at Gwalior. The Mutiny was not a national rising on the part of the people except in Oudh. In general the people of India continued to go about their daily toil unmoved, though there was widespread agitation by both Hindu and Mohammedan fanatics.

1857

On the other hand, the Company had not sufficiently opened up the higher posts in its service to natives of education, talent, or proved fidelity. It had taken important steps in this direction in respect to the lower grades of appointments, but the prizes of Indian official life, many of which are now thrown open to natives of India by the crown, were then the monopoly of a handful of Englishmen. Shortly before the Mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence pointed out that even the army supplied no career to a native officer which could satisfy the reasonable ambition of an able man. He insisted on the serious dangers arising from this state of things; but his warnings were unheeded till too late. In the crisis of the Mutiny they were remembered. He was nominated provisional governor-general in event of any accident happening to Lord Canning; and Queen Victoria's proclamation, on the transfer of the government from the Company to the crown at the end of the great struggle, affirmed the principle which he had so powerfully urged. "And it is our further will," were her majesty's gracious words, "that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." Under the Company this liberal policy was unknown. The sepoy Mutiny of 1857, therefore, found many of the Indian princes, especially the dethroned dynasties, hostile to the Company; while a multitude of its own native officers were either actively disloyal or indifferent to its fate.

In this critical state of affairs, a rumor ran through the native army that the cartridges served out to the Bengal regiments had been greased with the fat of pigs—animals which are unclean alike to Hindu and Mohammedan. No assurances could quiet the minds of the sepoys. Indeed the evidence shows that a disastrous blunder had in truth been made in this matter—a blunder which, although quickly remedied, was remedied too late. Fires occurred nightly in the native lines; officers were insulted by their men; confidence was gone, and only the form of discipline remained.

In addition, the outbreak of the storm found the native regiments denuded of many of their best officers. The administration of the great empire to which Dalhousie had put the capstone required a larger staff than the civil service could supply. The practice of selecting able military men for civil posts, which had long existed, received a sudden and vast development. Oudh, the Pun-

jab, the Central Provinces, and British Burma were administered to a large extent by picked officers from the Company's regiments. Good and skillful commanders remained; but the native army had nevertheless been drained of many of its brightest intellects and firmest wills at the very crisis of its fate. At the same time the British troops in India had, in spite of Lord Dalhousie's remonstrances, been reduced far below the strength which the great governor-general declared to be essential to the safety of the Company's rule. Two regiments were withdrawn at the outbreak of the Crimean War. Several regiments were also absent on the Persian campaign under Outram at the beginning of 1857. In 1854 there were 31 battalions of regulars in India, but Dalhousie asked for 37. Dalhousie would have diminished the size of the native army, and he did so distribute it as to have the individual stations as small as possible. Dalhousie enlisted an irregular force in the Punjab under the Punjab government, which he kept separate from the native army, and which proved so useful during the Mutiny. He also adopted the policy of enlisting Ghurkas. Immediately before the Mutiny there were in India 232,224 native troops and 45,522 Europeans, of whom 6170 were officers. Montgomery Martin ("Indian Empire") says: "In Bombay the relative strength of European to native infantry was as 1 to 9 $\frac{2}{3}$; in Madras as 1 to 16 $\frac{2}{3}$; and in Bengal as 1 to 24 $\frac{2}{3}$." One of Dalhousie's last official acts was to submit to the home authorities a series of minutes containing recommendations concerning the army in India, but his earnest representations on this subject were lying disregarded in London when the panic about the greased cartridges spread through the native regiments, and the storm burst upon Bengal.

On the afternoon of Sunday, May 10, 1857, the sepoy at Meerut, 35 miles northeast of Delhi, broke into open mutiny. They forced open the jail and rushed in a wild torrent through the cantonments, cutting down any European whom they met. They then streamed off to Delhi, to stir up the native garrison and the criminal population of that great city, and to place themselves under the authority of the titular Mogul emperor. Meerut was then the largest military station in northern India, with a strong European garrison of foot, horse, and guns, sufficient to overwhelm the mutineers long before they could have reached Delhi; but as the sepoy acted in irrational panic, so the British officers, in

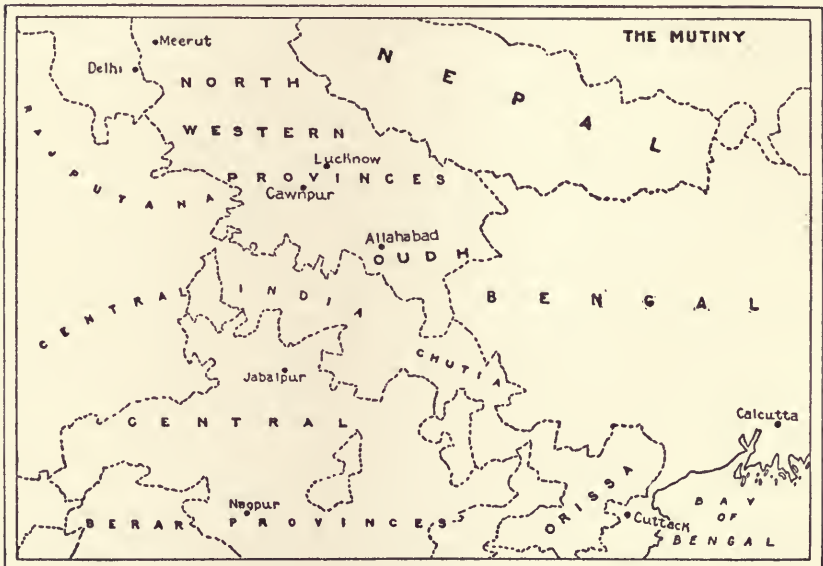
1857

but too many cases, behaved with equally irrational indecision. The news of the outbreak was telegraphed to Delhi, and nothing more was done at Meerut that night. At the moment when one strong will might have saved India, no soldier in authority at Meerut seemed able to think or act. The next morning the Mohammedans of Delhi rose, and all that the Europeans there could do was to blow up the magazine.

A rallying center and a traditional name were thus given to the revolt, which forthwith spread like wildfire through the North-western Provinces and Oudh down into Lower Bengal. The same narrative must suffice for all the outbreaks, although each episode has its own story of sadness and devotion. The sepoys rose on their officers, usually without warning, sometimes after protestations of fidelity—protestations in some cases perhaps true at the moment. The Europeans, or persons of Christian faith, were often massacred; occasionally, also, the women and children. The jail was broken open, the treasury plundered, and the mutineers marched off to some center of revolt, to join in what had now become a national war. Only in the Punjab were the sepoys anticipated by stern measures of repression and disarmament, carried out by Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants, among whom Edwardes and Nicholson stand conspicuous. John Nicholson was born in Dublin on December 1, 1821, and went to Calcutta in 1839 to enter the Bengal infantry. He served in Afghanistan and the Punjab, being employed as an administrative officer at Bannu in the Punjab from 1851 to 1856. He died at Delhi from wounds on September 23, 1857. To the natives he appeared to be a demi-god and was actually worshiped as Nikkul Seyn by a brotherhood of fakirs. The Sikh population never wavered. Crowds of willing Mohammedan recruits from the Afghan hills joined the British. Thus the Punjab, instead of being itself a source of danger, was able to furnish a portion of its own garrison for the siege of Delhi. In Lower Bengal most of the sepoys mutinied and then dispersed in different directions. The native armies of Madras and Bombay remained, on the whole, true to their colors. In central India the contingents of some of the great chiefs sooner or later threw in their lot with the rebels, but the Mohammedan state of Haidarabad was kept loyal by the authority of its minister, Sir Salar Jang. This able man was born in 1829 and became the prime minister to the nizam in 1853, which position he continued to hold until his

death on February 8, 1883. He was created a G. C. S. I., and in 1876 he visited England.

The main interest of the sepoy war gathers round the three cities of Cawnpur, Lucknow, and Delhi. The cantonments at Cawnpur contained one of the great native garrisons of India. At Bithur, not far off, was the palace of Dundhu Panth, the heir of the last peshwa, whose more familiar name of Nana Sahib will ever be handed down to infamy. On the death of Baji Rao, the last peshwa, in 1853, Dalhousie recognized the right of his adopted



son, Nana Sahib, to inherit the private estate of the late peshwa, and to this fortune he added the jaghir of the land on which Baji Rao had lived in the Northwestern Provinces, but the pension to the late peshwa was not continued to his adopted heir. Certainly Nana Sahib had little injustice of which to complain. Nana, literally grandmother, is a term of endearment, a pet name. At first the Nana was profuse in his professions of loyalty; but when the sepoys mutinied at Cawnpur on June 6 he put himself at their head, and was proclaimed peshwa of the Marathas. The Europeans at Cawnpur, numbering more women and children than fighting men, shut themselves up in an ill-chosen hasty entrenchment, where they heroically bore a siege for nineteen days under the sun of a

1857

tropical June. Everyone had courage and endurance to suffer or to die; but the directing mind was again absent. On June 27, trusting to a safe conduct from the Nana—a safe conduct supposed to hold good as far as Allahabad—they surrendered; and to the number of 450 embarked in boats on the Ganges. A murderous fire was opened upon them from the river bank. Only a single boat escaped; and four men, who swam across to the protection of a friendly raja, survived to tell the tale. The rest of the men were massacred on the spot. The women and children, numbering 125, were reserved for the same fate on July 15, when the avenging army of Sir Henry Havelock was at hand.

Sir Henry Lawrence, the chief commissioner of Oudh, had foreseen the storm. He fortified and provisioned the residency at Lucknow; and thither he retired, with all the European inhabitants and a weak British regiment, on July 2. Two days later he was mortally wounded by a shell. The clear head, however, was here in authority. Sir Henry Lawrence had deliberately chosen his position; and the little garrison held out, under unparalleled hardships and against enormous odds, until relieved by Havelock and Outram on September 25. On this occasion Outram justified his name of the Bayard of India by serving as a volunteer under Havelock until the relief of Lucknow had taken place, though he was officially Havelock's senior and superior. The relieving force was itself invested by fresh swarms of rebels; and it was not till November that Sir Colin Campbell cut his way into Lucknow, and effected the final deliverance of the garrison on November 16, 1857. The troops then withdrew to more urgent work, and did not permanently reoccupy Lucknow till March, 1858. Colin Campbell was born at Glasgow on October 20, 1792, the son of Colin Macliver. He was by mistake commissioned in the army as Colin Campbell in 1807 and retained the name thus bestowed. He served in the Peninsular War and later in America, China, and India. He was knighted in 1849 and served in the Crimean War. He was commander-in-chief in India from 1857 to 1860, and was created Baron Clyde in 1858. He died on August 14, 1863.

The siege of Delhi began on June 8, a month after the original outbreak at Meerut. Siege in the proper sense of the word it was not; for the British army, encamped on the historic "ridge" of Delhi, never exceeded 8000 men, while the rebels within the walls were more than 30,000 strong. In the middle of August, Nichol-

son arrived with a reinforcement from the Punjab; his own inspiring presence was perhaps even more valuable than the reinforcement he brought. On September 14 the assault was delivered, and, after six days' desperate fighting in the streets, Delhi was again won. Nicholson fell heroically at the head of the storming party. Hodson, the daring but unscrupulous leader of a corps of irregular horse, hunted down next day the old Mogul emperor, Bahadur Shah, and his sons. The emperor was afterward sent a state prisoner to Rangoon, where he lived till 1862. As the mob pressed in on the guard around the emperor's sons, near Delhi, Hodson thought it necessary to shoot down with his own hand the princes who had been captured unconditionally. William Stephen Raikes Hodson was born on March 19, 1821, and entered the Indian army in 1845. From 1852 to 1854 he was commander of the Guides. At the outbreak of the Mutiny he was commissioned to raise an irregular regiment, which came to be known as Hodson's Horse. He was wounded at Lucknow and died on March 12, 1858. Most writers have adopted a hostile view of Hodson's treatment of the Mogul princes, and of his personal character.¹

After the fall of Delhi and the final relief of Lucknow the war loses its dramatic interest, although fighting still went on in various parts of the country for about eighteen months. The population of Oudh and Rohilkhand, stimulated by the presence of the begam of Oudh, the nawab of Bareilly, and Nana Sahib himself, had joined the mutinous sepoys *en masse*. In this quarter of India alone, it was the revolt of a people rather than the mutiny of an army that had to be quelled. Sir Colin Campbell conducted the campaign in Oudh, which lasted through two cold seasons. Valuable assistance was lent by Sir Jang Bahadur, the ruling minister in Nepal for more than thirty years, at the head of his gallant Gurkhas. He had visited England and was a thorough believer in England's power. Town after town was occupied, fort after fort was stormed, until the last gun had been recaptured, and the last fugitive had been chased across the frontier by January, 1859.

In the meanwhile, Sir Hugh Henry Rose, with another army from Bombay, was conducting an equally brilliant campaign in central India. This British officer was born on April 6, 1801, at Berlin, and educated there. He entered the English army in 1820

¹ For a favorable account of him, see G. H. Hodson, "Hodson of Hodson's Horse."



PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELLIOUS SEPOYS, BY SHOOTING THEM FROM THE MOUTH OF THE CANNON

Painting by Vasilii Vasilievitch Vereshchagin

1857

and served in Syria, with the embassy at Constantinople, and in the Crimea. He became a major general in 1854 and was knighted in 1855. He went to India in 1857, where he was commander-in-chief of Bombay in 1860, and of India from 1860 to 1865. He was commander-in-chief in Ireland from 1865 to 1870, and was created Baron Strathnairn in 1866. He died at Paris on October 16, 1885. His most formidable antagonists in central India were the disinherited rani or princess of Jhansi and Tantia Topi, whose military talent had previously inspired Nana Sahib with all the capacity for resistance that he ever displayed. The rani was the widow of the last raja of Jhansi, who had died without heirs of his body in 1853. The rani was indignant because the British government would not allow her to adopt an heir, because of her small pension from which she was expected to pay her late husband's debts, and because the British slaughtered cattle in Jhansi in defiance of her religion. Tantia Topi had been born a subject of the peshwa about 1812 and was the devoted servant and adviser of Nana Sahib. The princess fell fighting bravely at the head of her troops in June, 1858. Tantia Topi, after doubling backward and forward through central India, was at last betrayed and run down in April, 1859. He was executed at Sipri on April 18.

The Mutiny sealed the fate of the East India Company, after a life of more than two and a half centuries. The original Company received its charter of incorporation from Elizabeth in 1600. Its political powers, and the constitution of the Indian government, were derived from the Regulating Act of 1773, passed by the ministry of Lord North. By that statute the governor of Bengal was raised to the rank of governor-general; and, in conjunction with his council of four members, he was intrusted with the duty of controlling the governments of Madras and Bombay, so far as regarded questions of peace and war: a supreme court of judicature was appointed at Calcutta, to which the judges were nominated by the crown; and a power of making rules and regulations was conferred upon the governor-general and his council. Next came the India Act of Pitt, in 1784, which founded the board of control in England, strengthened the supremacy of Bengal over the other presidencies, and first authorized the historic phrase, "governor-general in council."

The charter was renewed in 1781 and 1783, but the renewed charter of 1813 abolished the Company's monopoly of Indian trade,

and compelled it to direct its energies to the good government of the people. The Act of 1833, at the next renewal of the Company's charter for another twenty years, did away with its remaining trade to China. It also introduced successive reforms into the constitution of the Indian government. It added to the council a new (legal) member, who need not be chosen from among the Company's servants, and who was at first entitled to be present only at meetings for making laws and regulations; it accorded the authority of acts of parliament to the laws and regulations so made, subject to the disallowance of the court of directors; it appointed a law commission; and it finally gave to the governor-general in council a control over the other presidencies, in all points relating to the civil or military administration. The charter of the Company was renewed for the last time in 1853, not for a definite period of years, but only for so long as parliament should see fit. On this occasion the number of directors was reduced, and their patronage as regards appointments to the civil service was taken away, to make room for the principle of open competition.

The Act for the Better Government of India, which finally transferred the administration from the Company to the crown, was not passed without an eloquent protest from the directors, nor without bitter party discussions in parliament. It enacted that India shall be governed by, and in the name of, the ruler of England, through one of his principal secretaries of state, assisted by a council of fifteen members. The governor-general received the new title of viceroy. The European troops of the Company, numbering about 24,000 officers and men, were amalgamated with the royal service, and the Indian navy was abolished. By the Indian Councils Act, passed August 1, 1861, the governor-general's council, and also the councils at Madras and Bombay, were augmented by the addition of non-official members, either natives or Europeans, for legislative purposes only. This act has been amended several times, notably on June 20, 1892. By the terms of the act of 1861, the governor-general's council consisted of five ordinary members, three with official experience in India, one law, and one finance member. The commander-in-chief is an extraordinary member of council. In 1874 a sixth member was added for the public works department. For legislative purposes not less than six and not more than twelve members were added to the council. This number includes some distinguished natives and representatives of the

1857

legal and mercantile classes in India. The act also authorized the governor-general to make rules for the transaction of business in the council, and under this authority Canning placed each member in charge of a department, and in minor matters that member may give final orders. More important matters he refers to the governor-general, and if they agree final orders may issue, but if they disagree or the governor-general so wishes, the council as a body is consulted. Technically the council is responsible for the acts of each of its members. Thus the council has been practically transformed into a cabinet and has been able to keep abreast of its work as had seldom been the case under the old system, which required the whole council to act on every matter. By the Indian High Courts Act of August 6, 1861, high courts of judicature were constituted out of the old supreme courts at the presidency towns. There was also passed on August 1, 1861, the Indian Civil Service Act.

Chapter XVI

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN 1858-1906

BOOTH the suppression of the Mutiny and the introduction of the peaceful revolution which followed fell to the lot of Lord Canning—"a very mirror of honor, the pattern of a just, high-minded, and fearless statesman, kind and considerate . . . without any personal bias against opponents."

He preserved his equanimity unruffled in the darkest hours of peril, and the strict partiality of his conduct incurred alternate praise and blame from partisans of both sides. The epithet then scornfully applied to him, of "Clemency" Canning, is now remembered only to his honor. On November 1, 1858, at a grand darbar held at Allahabad, he sent forth the royal proclamation which announced that the queen had assumed the government of India. This document, which is, in the truest and noblest sense, the Great Charter of the Indian people, declared in eloquent words the principles of justice and religious toleration as the guiding policy of the queen's rule. It also granted an amnesty to all except those who had directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. Peace was proclaimed throughout India on July 8, 1859. With the termination of the Company's rule, its army ceased to exist, and the forces in India were incorporated as an integral part of the British army. Henceforth Europeans could no longer enlist for service in India only, but must enlist for regular general service in the British army. Following the suppression of the Mutiny the extraordinary military establishment was reduced to a peace basis. The character of the army was greatly altered from the old Company's army, for in 1862 there were actually in India 76,000 European and 111,000 native troops, making the total British force in India 187,000 men. In the autumn of 1859 Lord Canning made a viceregal progress through the northern provinces, to receive the homage of loyal princes and chiefs, and to guarantee to them the right of adoption. In 1860 Lord Canning had to send a punitive expedition into the little Himalayan state of Sikkim on the

1860-1861

northern border of Lower Bengal. A treaty of April 16, 1861, established peaceful relations with Sikkim, which was allowed to maintain its independence, subject to some slight supervision by the government of India. The importance of this little state lies in its control of the best pass from Bengal into Tibet, and it has accordingly figured prominently in all the questions of Indo-Tibetan relations. India was also called upon to furnish several regiments of Sikh troops to serve under Sir Hope Grant in the Second China War of 1860. In Burma the various British provinces were formed into a single governmental unit, and on January 31, 1862, Lieutenant Colonel Phayre was installed as the first chief commissioner of British Burma. Arthur Purves Phayre was born in 1812 and entered the Bengal army in 1828. After serving as commissioner of Arakan and of Pegu, he was chief commissioner of British Burma from 1862 to 1867. He was knighted in 1878 and died in 1885.

The suppression of the Mutiny increased the debt of India by about forty millions sterling, and the military changes which ensued augmented the annual expenditure by about ten millions. To grapple with this deficit, a distinguished political economist and parliamentary financier, the Right Honorable James Wilson, was sent out from England as financial member of the council. He was born in Scotland on June 3, 1805. After a business career he entered parliament in 1847 and occupied various posts involving financial duties. In his budget speech of February, 1860, Wilson said: "For perhaps the first time in any Asiatic war, Lord Canning adopted, throughout the whole of this campaign [the Mutiny], the most scrupulous principle of integrity. Whatever service was performed, whatever provisions were supplied, were strictly paid for." He reorganized the customs system, abolishing all export duties and lowering the import duties. He imposed a tax on all incomes of more than 200 rupees, a license duty of one, four, or ten rupees upon trades and professions, and an internal revenue tax on tobacco. He undertook to revise the business methods of the government, especially in the military department. He created a paper currency commission at Calcutta, corresponding with the department of issue of the Bank of England, with branches at Bombay and Madras, authorized to issue notes ranging in value from 5 rupees to 1000 rupees, redeemable in silver. He died in the midst of his splendid task, but his name still lives as that of

the first and greatest finance minister of India. His successor as finance member of council was Samuel Laing, who was born in 1812, and was graduated from Cambridge and admitted as a barrister of Lincoln's Inn in 1837. From 1842 onward he was regularly interested in railroad administration, and was chairman and managing director of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railways from 1848 to 1852, and from 1867 to 1894. He was a member of parliament, with some interruptions, from 1852 to 1885, and financial member of the governor-general's council from January, 1861, to July, 1862. His year of service is notable for the promotion of railroad construction, for his endeavors to free the poorest classes from the burden of taxation, and for the initiation of the policy of decentralization in taxation, in the case of the tobacco tax. The Bengal Tenancy Act, a memorable measure which secured the land rights of the peasantry of Bengal, was passed under Lord Canning's auspices in 1859, but as it had failed to meet the situation fully and as a result of long and careful investigation it was replaced by the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885; the Penal Code, originally drawn up by Macaulay in 1837, became law in 1860; with Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure in 1861.

Lord Canning left India in March, 1862, and died before he had been a month in England. His successor was Lord Elgin. James Bruce was born in 1811, and educated at Eton and Oxford, where he was a student of Christ Church at the same time as Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, and Gladstone. He succeeded in 1841 as eighth earl of Elgin and twelfth earl of Kincardine in the Scottish peerage. He was governor of Jamaica from 1842 to 1847, and the governor-general of Canada from 1847 to 1854. In 1857 he was sent as envoy to China. On his return he was made postmaster-general, but from 1860 to 1861 he was again sent to China. He became viceroy and governor-general of India in 1862 and died of heart trouble at the Himalayan station of Dharmasala on November 20, 1863, and there he lies buried. Lord Elgin abandoned the pompous progress of the earlier governors-general in traveling and went by train. The one event of his rule was the expedition against the Wahabis, a group of turbulent and fanatical Mohammedans in the northwest. On the death of Lord Elgin, Sir Robert Napier, later Lord Napier of Magdala, as senior member of council, succeeded until the arrival of Sir William Denison, the governor of Madras, who became acting governor-general

1862-1869

under the Act of 1861. William Thomas Denison was born in 1804 and was educated at Woolwich. He constructed the Rideau Canal in Canada from 1827 to 1831, and was employed in other engineering works until he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1846. He opened the first representative assembly in 1852 and was transferred to the governorship of New South Wales from 1854 to 1861, where he established responsible government in 1855. He was knighted in 1856, and was governor of Madras from 1861 to 1866, serving as acting governor-general from December 2, 1863, to January 12, 1864.

Upon the death of Lord Elgin the viceroyalty was immediately offered to Sir John Lawrence, the savior of the Punjab, who at once hastened to his new post. Aside from such incidents as the Bhutan war and the Orissa famine, the viceroyalty was devoid of important events, but Lawrence's rule is notable for two things for which his earlier experience, especially in the Punjab, admirably fitted him: the effort to improve the condition of the natives, and the handling of the perplexing question of the northwest frontier.

After a careful investigation of the condition of the present class in Oudh, the Oudh Tenancy Act of 1868 was passed, compelling the talukdars, or baronial landlords, to respect the rights of the ryots, or peasant tenants. Similar measures were carried into effect in the Northwestern Provinces and in the Punjab, where they raised much less discussion. The agrarian situation in Bengal also received attention, especially from the courts. The law member of the council from 1862 to 1869 was the famous legal scholar, Henry James Sumner Maine. He was born in 1822, knighted in 1871, and died in 1888.

Plans for various internal improvements received a great impetus from the inability of the government to deal with the famine situation in Orissa in 1866, which resulted in a frightful loss of life, so that, in a later famine in Bundelkhand and Upper Hindustan in 1868-1869, Lord Lawrence laid down the principle, for the first time in Indian history, that the officers of the government would be held personally responsible for taking every possible means to avert death by starvation. Lawrence's administration also established the rule that all future railroads and irrigation works should be constructed by the ruling power, and that such permanent improvements should be paid for by loans, and that only the annual

charges for them should be paid from the revenue. The changed conditions since the Mutiny, and the large increase in the number of Europeans in the army in India, made necessary the erection of extensive barracks with all the modern improvements in order to preserve the health of the army. Other forms of sanitary work were also carried out. The work of forest administration was taken up by the imperial government. Of wider import, however, was the extension of the railroad and irrigation systems. The famine in Orissa owed its great severity to the absence of railroads and even of passable carriage roads through the province. The seacoast of Orissa is at best difficult of access, and during the monsoons it was almost impossible for a vessel to discharge its cargo on the coast, so that at Puri it took one steamer seven weeks to unload. Public works were begun, but the famine victims could not be paid in food, but only in money, so that the works were soon suspended. The famine was followed by devastating floods. The terrible character of the Orissa disasters led at once to a burst of activity in the construction of railroads, roads, irrigation works, and other internal improvements. In this work Lawrence received valuable assistance from the able and experienced engineer officer, Richard Strachey. This man was born in 1817 and entered the Bengal Engineers in 1836. After serving in various posts as an engineer he became secretary to the government of India for the department of public works from 1862 to 1866, and inspector general of irrigation from 1866 to 1871. He was member of the council of India from 1875 to 1878, and from 1879 to 1889, and temporary member of the governor-general's council from 1878 to 1879. Since 1889 he has been chairman of the East Indian Railways Company. He was knighted in 1897.

In regard to the financial and commercial situation under Lawrence's rule, it should be noted that the distress in England, due to the closing of the mills, was at its height when Lawrence entered office. The American Civil War had made India the sole available source of cotton supply, and the price had run up from 44*l.* a ton in 1860 to 189*l.* in 1864. Wild speculation followed, notably in Bombay, ending in a financial crash as soon as the American war closed. This commercial crisis of 1866 also threatened the young tea industry in Bengal. The reorganization of the civil service following the transfer of India to the crown was completed under Lawrence, and the salaries raised to a uniform stand-

1863-1869

ard. This period was also marked by the beginning of the depreciation of silver and the development of the money question. All of these things contributed to an increase in the national expenditure, with no compensating increase in the income of the imperial government, so that the five years of Lawrence's rule showed a net deficit of 2,500,000*l.*, in spite of the utmost efforts for frugality and economy. The finance member of the governor-general's council from 1863 to 1865 was Charles Edward Trevelyan, who was born in 1807 and entered the Bengal civil service in 1826. He was knighted in 1848, introduced the new Indian civil service system in 1853, was governor of Madras in 1859-1860, and died in 1886. He was the brother-in-law of Lord Macaulay. He was succeeded as finance member of council by William Nathaniel Massey, from 1865 to 1868. Massey was born in 1809 and died in 1881. He was long a member of parliament, and wrote a history of the reign of George III.

Along the northern frontier of Lower Bengal stretches the independent Himalayan state of Bhutan, with which Lawrence had to carry on his only war. This involved only a few skirmishes and was terminated by a treaty on November 11, 1865. This treaty provided that Bhutan should cede the dwaras, or passes, between Bengal and Assam and Bhutan. The remainder of Bhutan was allowed to maintain its independence subject to certain treaty guarantees, which assured the government of India of the peaceful behavior of the restless tribesmen.

Of more serious character was the situation on the Afghan frontier. On the death of Dost Mohammed, on June 9, 1863, Sher Ali, the third son and acknowledged heir of the Dost, was recognized as amir of Afghanistan by Lawrence, and his son, Mohammed Ali, as heir apparent. Then followed a long civil war in which the two older sons of the Dost, Afzal and Azum, obtained possession of most of Afghanistan, and were partially recognized as *de facto* rulers by Lawrence, who at the same time refused to withdraw his recognition from Sher Ali. The latter soon won his way back to power, and in 1869 was able to notify Lawrence that he was once more in complete control. Lawrence's policy had been "that we will leave the Afghans to settle their own quarrels, and that we are willing to be on terms of amity and good-will with the nation and with their rulers *de facto*." It was at this same time that the Russian advance into central Asia, which fol-

lowed the Crimean War, became a cause for alarm. Envoys from Khokand and Bokhara visited Lawrence, but the independence of their states was destroyed, and finally Lawrence urged upon the home government "that it [Russia] might be given to understand in firm but courteous language that it cannot be permitted to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, or in those of any state which lies contiguous to our frontier." Lawrence opposed the "forward movement" to establish a scientific, defensible northwestern frontier, but preferred to maintain the line of the Indus as the actual frontier, and to develop and preserve friendly relations, not only with the Afghans and the Baluchis, but also with the various hill tribes, but not to absorb them into the Indian empire. Colonel Henry Marion Durand, who was military member of the governor-general's council from 1865 to 1870, in succession to Sir Robert Napier, was an expert on the northwest frontier question, having served in the Afghan and Sikh wars. He closed his career as lieutenant-governor of the Punjab from 1870 to 1871.

In 1868 England found it necessary to send an expedition into Abyssinia and intrusted the conduct of it to the commander-in-chief in Bombay, who was rewarded for his success with the title of Lord Napier of Magdala.

Sir John Lawrence retired in January, 1869, after having passed through every grade of Indian service, from an assistant magistracy to the viceroyalty. On his return to England he was raised to the peerage. He died in 1879, and lies in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Mayo succeeded Lord Lawrence in 1869, and urged on the material progress of India. Richard Southwell Bourke was born in Dublin on February 21, 1822. He entered parliament in 1847 and succeeded as sixth earl of Mayo in the Irish peerage in 1867. Under his courtesy title of Lord Naas he was thrice chief secretary for Ireland, in 1852, 1858-1859, and 1866-1868.

The Ambala darbar in 1869, at which Sher Ali was formally recognized as amir of Afghanistan, although in one sense the completion of what Lord Lawrence had begun, owed its brilliant success to Lord Mayo. In his foreign policy Lord Mayo sought, with substantial success, to secure the recognition by Russia of the boundaries of Afghanistan. He also mediated in Baluchistan to establish internal order and to have the Persian boundary question settled. To the northward Eastern Turkestan was for the

1869-1870

moment independent under a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, Yakub, who sought recognition from the government of India. Douglas Forsyth, who had served in the Punjab under Lawrence, was sent by Lord Mayo to visit him at Yarkand, but nothing came of it, and the Chinese soon afterward restored their authority. On the eastern frontier of Bengal the tribesmen of the Lushai Hills became so troublesome that Lord Mayo resolved to give them a lesson in good behavior, and under the direction of Lord Napier of Magdala the Lushai expedition established order and security upon that frontier. Briefly stated, Mayo's foreign policy was a development of Lawrence's nonintervention doctrine. He sought to surround India with a circle of independent friendly states which should form a buffer against such an empire as Russia.

In his relations with the feudatory states he insisted that the native princes should not be guilty of misgovernment. The worst case with which he had to deal was the maharaja of Alwar, whom he forced to accept a native council guided by the British political agent. Mayo encouraged the native rulers in enlightened government and sought to develop an *esprit de corps* to that end by the education of the heirs to the native principalities. For this purpose he planned Mayo College at Ajmere, which was opened in 1875 for the education of young Rajput princes. The visit of His Royal Highness, Alfred Ernest Albert, the duke of Edinburgh, in 1869-1870, gave deep pleasure to the natives of India, and introduced a tone of personal loyalty into the relations with the feudatory princes.

Some of Lord Mayo's most important work was done in connection with the finances, which were in a serious condition. The annual deficits for the three years preceding the arrival of Lord Mayo made a total equivalent to about \$28,000,000. During his first year he secured a slight surplus, and during the next three years piled up a surplus aggregating more than \$28,000,000. In doing this both revenue and expenditure were reduced. Economy was rigidly enforced in every department, estimates were scaled down and every item carefully scrutinized, and public works involving outlays were carefully supervised. With the assistance of the brothers, Richard and John Strachey, he carried into effect the plan of decentralization in the financial administration which had been suggested by Mr. Laing a decade earlier. The impulse to local self-government, given by the last measure, has done much,

and will do more, to develop and husband the revenues of India, to quicken the sense of responsibility among the British administrators, and to awaken political life among the people. Lord Mayo also laid the foundation for the reform of the salt duties. He thus enabled his successors to abolish the old pernicious customs-lines which had for long walled off province from province, and strangled the trade between British India and the feudatory states. In order to secure permanent improvement in the finances, great pains were taken to secure and to collate statistics regarding the population and the various conditions in each locality, for only with exact knowledge in these matters could both revenue and expenditure be wisely regulated. The first census of all India which was taken by his orders showed the population of Bengal alone to be 26,000,000 larger than was estimated. Mayo organized the Statistical Survey of India, which, under the direction of William Wilson Hunter, "produced a printed account of each district, town, and village, carefully compiled upon local inquiry, and disclosing the whole economic and social facts in the life of the people." This Survey is of the same type as the English Domesday Book, and of the *Ain-i-Akfari* of the Mogul empire, but it embraces a far greater area, an enormously larger population, and is much broader in its scope. It is without doubt the greatest work of the kind ever accomplished.

In his military policy Lord Mayo insisted upon the largest economy consistent with the highest efficiency. He insisted on the introduction of the most improved rifle, the Snider, and of rifled guns for the artillery, and the provision of thoroughly sanitary conditions for the troops, but he succeeded in effecting a substantial reduction in the military budget. He developed the material resources of the country by an immense extension of roads, railroads, and canals. He carried out the beneficent system of public works which Lord Dalhousie had inaugurated. In the construction of public works he saw the evils of haste, of lack of supervision, and lack of personal management, but with the aid of Richard Strachey he remedied these conditions. He refused to make loans for any public works except those that would be productive. He carried out the policy of state control of public works in the promotion of the various enterprises of railroad and canal construction. He took a keen interest in the extension of educational facilities to the masses, as well as to the upper classes. He insisted

1869-1872

upon a thorough system of prison reform, especially at the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands, where he sent General Donald Martin Stewart as manager. The most important legal reform was the passage of the Indian Evidence Act in 1872, which had been drafted by the law member of council, James Fitzjames Stephen. This man was the son of Sir James Stephen and was born in 1829. He succeeded his friend, Sir Henry Maine, as legal member of the governor-general's council from 1869 to 1872. He was knighted in 1877 and served as judge of the high court of judicature in England from 1879 to 1891. He died in 1894.

Mayo was fortunate in being surrounded by a group of experienced and able councilors and local administrators. In addition to Stephen in the law department and John Strachey in the newly organized department of revenue, agriculture, and commerce, he had Sir Richard Temple in charge of the finances, Major General Henry Wylie Norman in the military department, and Ellis in the home department. Richard Temple was born in 1826 and entered the Indian civil service in 1848. After serving with Lawrence in the Punjab, he was chief commissioner of the Central Provinces from 1864 to 1867, resident at Haiderabad, foreign secretary to the government of India, finance member of council from 1868 to 1874, lieutenant-governor of Bengal from 1874 to 1877, and governor of Bombay from 1877 to 1880. He was knighted in 1867 and made a baronet in 1876. He was member of parliament from 1885 to 1895 and died in 1902. Henry Wylie Norman was born in London in 1826 and entered the Bengal infantry in 1844. He served in the Sikh wars, in the Punjab, in the Mutiny, and as military secretary to the government of India. He was military member of the governor-general's council from 1870 to 1877, and member of the council of India from 1878 to 1883. He was governor of Jamaica from 1883 to 1889 and of Queensland from 1889 to 1896, but declined the offer of the viceroyalty of India in succession to Lord Lansdowne. He was chairman of the West India Royal Commission in 1897 and a member of the Royal Commission on the South African War. He was knighted in 1873 and died in 1904. Barrow Helbert Ellis was born in 1823 and served in various posts in the Bombay civil service, and from 1869 to 1875 was member of the governor-general's council for the home department, and member of the council of India from 1875 to 1885. He was knighted in 1875 and died in 1887.

Among the administrators were Lord Napier of Merchistoun at Madras, Sir Vesey Fitzgerald at Bombay, Grey and Campbell in Bengal, Sir William Muir in the Northwestern Provinces, Sir Henry Marion Durand and Robert Henry Davies in the Punjab, and John Henry Morris in the Central Provinces. Francis Napier was born in 1819 and succeeded as ninth Baron Napier in the Scottish peerage in 1834. He entered the diplomatic service in 1840 and was minister at Washington from 1857 to 1859, and ambassador at St. Petersburg from 1860 to 1864, and at Berlin from 1864 to 1866. He was governor of Madras from 1866 to 1872, when he became acting governor-general until the arrival of Lord Northbrook. On his return to England in 1872 he was created Baron Ettrick of Ettrick in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He died in 1898. William Robert Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald was born in 1818 and served in parliament for many years. He was governor of Bombay from 1867 to 1872. He was knighted in 1867 and died in 1885. William Grey was born in 1818 and had held several important posts in the Indian civil service prior to becoming a member of the governor-general's council from 1862 to 1867. He was lieutenant-governor of Bengal from 1867 to 1871, and governor of Jamaica from 1874 to 1877. He was knighted in 1870 and died in 1878. George Campbell was born in 1824 and entered the Indian civil service in 1842. His career had already been a notable one when he became chief commissioner of the Central Provinces from 1867 to 1868, and lieutenant-governor of Bengal from 1871 to 1874. He was knighted in 1873, and served in parliament from 1875 till his death in 1892. William Muir was born in 1819 and entered the Bengal civil service in 1837. He was knighted in 1867 and was lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces from 1868 to 1874. He was finance member of the governor-general's council from 1874 to 1876, and member of the council of India from 1876 to 1885. He was principal and vice chancellor of the University of Edinburgh from 1885 to 1902, and was the author of several works on Mohammedan history. He died in 1905. Robert Henry Davies was born in 1824 and was knighted in 1874. He was chief commissioner of Oudh from 1865 to 1866 and from 1867 to 1871, and lieutenant-governor of the Punjab from 1871 to 1877. He was member of the council of India from 1885 to 1895 and died in 1902. John Henry Morris was born in 1828 and went to India in 1848. He was chief com-

1872-1876

missioner of the Central Provinces with brief interruptions from 1867 to 1883. He was knighted in 1883.

Lord Mayo's splendid vigor defied alike the climate and the vast tasks which he imposed on himself. He anxiously and laboriously studied with his own eyes the wants of the farthest provinces of the empire, but his life of noble usefulness was cut short by the hand of an assassin while he was inspecting the conditions in the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands in 1872. Mr. John Strachey, the senior member of council present, temporarily assumed the duties of governor-general until the arrival of the governor of Madras, Lord Napier of Merchistoun, who was acting governor-general until the arrival of the new viceroy, Lord Northbrook, in May, 1872. Thomas George Baring was born January 22, 1826, and succeeded his father in 1866 as Baron Northbrook. He was a lord of the admiralty from 1857 to 1858, under secretary of state for India from 1859 to 1864, for the home department from 1864 to 1866, and for war from 1868 to 1872. Belonging to the great financial family of the Barings it was natural that Lord Northbrook should give much attention to the department of finance. He carried forward the policy of Lord Mayo, but the Bengal famine in 1874 necessitated enormous extraordinary expenditures which once more produced a deficit. The conduct of the famine relief was so efficient that, for the first time, the rate of mortality in the region of scarcity was not increased. The income tax was abolished as unsuited to India, and the export duties were also repealed. The Maratha Gaekwar of Baroda was dethroned in 1875 for misgovernment, and for his attempt to poison the British resident at his court. The Gaekwar was tried by a mixed commission of native princes and Europeans, which failed to give a decisive verdict. The case was then referred to the home government, and the marquis of Salisbury, then secretary of state for India, ordered the deposition of the Gaekwar on the old charge of misgovernment, disregarding the poisoning charge on which he had been tried. His dominions were continued to a child of his race.

The prince of Wales, now King Edward VII., made a tour through the country in the cold weather of 1875-1876. He was accompanied during his visit to India by Sir Bartle Frere (1815-1894), who had had a brilliant career as an Indian administrator, and who was later the first high commissioner for South Africa. The presence of His Royal Highness evoked a passionate burst of loyalty never

before known in the annals of British India. The feudatory chiefs and ruling houses of India felt for the first time that they were incorporated into the empire of an ancient and a splendid dynasty. Lord Northbrook resigned in 1876, because of his unwillingness to abandon the Afghan policy of Lawrence and Mayo for the imperialistic policy of the new English prime minister, Disraeli.

The period from the Mutiny to the beginning of Lord Lytton's administration was a period of reorganization and readjustment. Though the work was done by conservative men upon conservative lines, the two decades show vast changes. In 1856-1857 the revenue was 23,270,000*l.* and the expenditures 23,413,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 143,000*l.* In 1876-1877 the revenue had risen to 55,995,000*l.* and the expenditures to 58,178,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 2,183,000*l.* The debt on April 30, 1857, was 50,483,000*l.* and on March 31, 1877, 138,935,000*l.* In 1856 the maritime commerce of India was valued at 25,245,000*l.* for imports and 23,640,000*l.* for exports. In 1876-1877 the imports were 48,864,000*l.* and the exports 65,044,000*l.* At the outbreak of the Mutiny the army in India numbered 45,522 Europeans and 232,224 natives, in 1876-1877 there were 64,902 Europeans and 125,246 natives. In 1857 the length of railroads in operation was 274 miles; in 1877 it was 6937 miles. In 1857 there were 4162 miles of telegraph lines and in 1876 there were 16,649 miles. The number of pieces of mail had increased from 29,000,000 annually to 120,000,000. During the period new industries of importance, such as tea-growing and cotton manufacturing, had been developed. The two following administrations were ones of intense political activity, Lord Lytton's in foreign affairs, and Lord Ripon's in internal administration; but the succeeding administrations have reverted to more conservative policies, and have avoided arousing such violent opposition to their measures, either in India or in England.

Lord Lytton followed Lord Northbrook in 1876. Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton was born in London on November 8, 1831. He went to Washington in 1849 as secretary to his uncle, Sir Henry Bulwer, and later accompanied him to Florence. After serving at various European courts he became minister at Lisbon in 1874, having in the previous year succeeded his father, the novelist, as Baron Lytton.

On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India at a darbar of unparalleled magnificence, held on the his-

1877-1878

toric ridge overlooking the ancient Mogul capital of Delhi. The Royal Titles Act of April 27, 1876, was one of Disraeli's famous imperialistic measures. The act was passed with the understanding that the imperial title should be used only in India. The queen began to use it in her signature in 1878 and in 1893 it appeared on the British coins. The title empress of India was officially translated as *Kaisar-i-Hind*. At the darbar in 1877 the "Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire" was created. While the princes and high officials of the country were flocking to this gorgeous scene, the shadow of famine was darkening over southern India. The monsoons of 1876 had failed to bring their due supply of rain, and the season of 1877 was little better. This long-continued drought stretched from the Deccan to Cape Comorin, and subsequently invaded northern India, causing a famine more widespread than any previously known in Indian history. Despite vast importations of grain by sea and rail, despite the most strenuous exertions of the government, which incurred a total expenditure on this account of 11 millions sterling, the loss of life from actual starvation and its attendant train of diseases was lamentable. The deaths from want of food, and from the diseases incident to a famine-stricken population, were estimated at five and one-fourth millions.

The famine relief administration was in charge of Sir Richard Temple, who was unfortunately under orders to enforce a most rigid economy in his work, so that the liberal measures and the complete success of the relief work in Bengal a few years earlier were impossible. It was under Lord Lytton that the government first adapted its system of finances and public works to the policy of famine insurance. A famine commission under the presidency of Richard Strachey was appointed to make a full study of the whole question of famine insurance and famine relief, and it outlined the policy which in the main has been followed by later administrations. Another terrible disaster also occurred during Lord Lytton's administration. On October 31, 1876, a tidal wave flooded 3000 square miles of the Ganges delta and swept away many thousands of the population.

Before turning from the internal disasters of Lord Lytton's viceroyalty to discuss his disastrous foreign policy a few events of interest may be noted. The island of Socotra in the Gulf of Aden was occupied in 1878. In the same year was enacted the

Vernacular Press Act intended to suppress the virulent criticism of the government. The civil service regulations were modified in order to improve the opportunities for advancement for the natives. The Deccan Agricultural Relief Act was passed in 1880 to prevent the exploitation of the peasants by unscrupulous money lenders. The closing days of Lord Lytton's administration were troubled by the discovery of serious discrepancies in the financial accounts, which were ultimately proved to be due to careless bookkeeping methods in connection with the military expeditions. Owing to these blunders, there was a large deficit of which the government had not been aware. In 1877 Lord Lytton opened the Moham-medan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, founded by Sayyid Ammad Khan Bahadur, a famous Mohammedan reformer, who endeavored to bring his co-religionists into touch with contemporary culture and life. Bahadur was knighted in 1888 and died in 1898.

In the autumn of 1878 the affairs of Afghanistan again forced themselves into notice. Sher Ali, the amir who had been hospitably entertained by Lord Mayo, was found to be favoring Russian intrigues. A British envoy was refused admittance to the country, while a Russian mission was received with honor. This led to a declaration of war. Thus Lawrence's policy of masterly inactivity in Afghan affairs was abandoned by Lord Lytton, under the guidance of the English prime minister, Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), for a policy of intervention to thwart the designs of Russia, which were being ably carried out in central Asia by General Kaufmann. The position was greatly complicated by the disturbed condition in the Balkans, by the Russo-Turkish War of 1878, and by the ensuing negotiations ending in the Treaty of Berlin. During the Russo-Turkish war, when the relations between England and Russia were very much strained, native Indian regiments were sent from India to Malta and Cyprus, being the first appearance of Indian troops in Europe. It was this action which stimulated the Russians in central Asia and led to their mission to Kabul.

British armies advanced by three routes—the Khaibar, the Kuram, and the Bolan—and without much opposition occupied the inner entrances of these passes in 1878. Sher Ali fled to Afghan Turkistan, and there died, February 21, 1879. He had ruled justly and with marked ability, introducing reforms upon European lines, and endeavoring to maintain the independence of

1879-1880

his state between the aggressions of England and Russia—"an earthen pipkin between two iron pots," in the words of Lord Lytton. He had long kept his son and heir, Yakub Khan, imprisoned, but had released him and made him regent when he himself fled from Kabul. Yakub Khan showed little ability, and failed to command unanimous support in Afghanistan. Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, the representative of the viceroy on the northwestern frontier, entered into a treaty with Yakub Khan, at Gandamak in May, 1879, by which the British frontier was advanced to the crests or Afghan edge of the passes, and a British officer was admitted to reside at Kabul. This treaty embodied the new principle of British intervention in Afghanistan and practically made the country tributary to British India. By way of reward, and because of his thorough knowledge of oriental character and his remarkable ability in dealing with orientals, Cavagnari was appointed as the first British resident at Kabul. Within a few months he was treacherously attacked and massacred, together with his escort, September 3, 1879, and a second war became necessary. Yakub Khan surrendered to General Roberts on September 30, and abdicated on October 28, and was deported to India. Kabul was occupied by General Roberts, and Kandahar by General Donald Stewart, and a national rising of the Afghan tribes, which imperiled the British garrison at Kabul, was decisively repulsed by Roberts.

General Frederick Sleight Roberts was born at Cawnpur, India, on September 30, 1832, and entered the Bengal artillery in 1851. He became major-general in 1878 and a field-marshal in 1895. He won the Victoria cross in the relief of Lucknow. He was quarter-master-general in India from 1875 to 1878; commanded in Afghanistan from 1878 to 1880, was commander-in-chief of Madras from 1881 to 1885, of India from 1885 to 1893, of Ireland from 1895 to 1899, and in South Africa from 1899 to 1900. He was commander-in-chief of the British army from 1901 to 1904. He was made a baronet in 1881, Baron Roberts of Kandahar in 1892, and Earl Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria, and Waterford in 1901.

The conditions both in Afghanistan and in South Africa led to bitter attacks upon Lord Beaconsfield's ministry, and to its defeat in the general election of 1880. Lord Lytton regarded the condemnation as extending to himself, and so had his resignation

presented with that of his chief, in April, 1880. Though Disraeli did irritate, and even anger, the English people by the extravagances and blunders of his jingoism, he taught them the importance and value of the empire both in India and in the colonies, and forced them to give respectful attention to imperial questions. If Disraeli bade Lytton to blunder into Afghanistan, it must be added that Gladstone made his successor to blunder out, a double blunder which was paralleled in the contemporary double blunder in the Transvaal.

The Afghan question engrossed the attention of the new viceroy, the marquis of Ripon, during the first year of his administration. George Frederick Samuel Robinson was born in London on October 24, 1827, and succeeded his father, who, as Viscount Goderich, had been prime minister from 1827 to 1828, as earl of Ripon in 1859, and was created marquis of Ripon in 1871. He was under secretary of war from 1859 to 1861, and for India in 1861. He was secretary of war from 1863 to 1866, for India in 1866, and lord president of the council from 1868 to 1873. In 1871 he was chairman of the joint commission for drawing up the Treaty of Washington. He had been grand master of the Freemasons, but resigned in 1874, and became a Catholic. He was viceroy of India from 1880 to 1884, being the first Catholic to hold that office. One of his first orders directed, as far as possible, the discontinuance of Sunday work in the government offices.

Following up the successes of General Roberts, Lepel Henry Griffin, the British political agent, on July 22, 1879, proclaimed as amir, Abdur Rahman Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed's eldest son, Afzul Khan. A few days later, on July 27, Ayub Khan, a son of Sher Ali, with the Herat troops, encountered an English brigade at Maiwand, between Kandahar and the Helmand River, and inflicted upon the British the severest disaster to their arms in Asia since Chilianwala—a defeat promptly retrieved by the brilliant march of General Sir Frederick Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar, and by the total rout of Ayub Khan's army on September 1, 1880. For the moment the English attempted to set up an independent chief at Kandahar, but abandoned the attempt, and after a series of famous debates in parliament, surrendered it to Abdur Rahman Khan, and the British forces retired from Kabul, leaving Abdur Rahman in possession of the capital,

1881-1882

1881. Ayub Khan again took the field. His success, however, was short-lived, and Abdur Rahman then recovered Herat, and thenceforth governed the whole of Afghanistan peacefully till his death in September, 1901. After 1880 England returned to Lawrence's policy of masterly inactivity with regard to Afghanistan, but with Lord Mayo's purpose of excluding all other foreign influence from that country. In one point, however, Lawrence's policy was reversed: Lord Ripon began in July, 1883, the payment to the amir of "a fixed annual subsidy" of 1,200,000 rupees, or about \$600,000. The English government capped the Afghan blunder, which it had forced upon the government of India, by compelling the government of India to assume all but 5,000,000*l.* of the 23,412,000*l.* which the blunder had cost.

Aside from the settlement of the Afghan question, Lord Ripon's administration was free from questions of foreign relations, and only two events of any account are to be noted. On November 18, 1880, Lord Ripon received the khan of Kelat in darbar at Jacobabad, thus establishing satisfactory relations with Baluchistan. In 1882 a contingent of Indian native troops was sent to take part with the British forces in the successful occupation of Egypt.

The troops were under the command of Major-General Herbert Taylor Macpherson (born 1827, knighted 1879, died 1886), and were largely responsible for the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, though their services received but tardy recognition. The Indian government had to bear the charge for the expedition. The native princes made offers of contingents, if necessary. Another expedition was sent to Suakin, to cooperate in the Sudan campaign of 1885, under the command of General John Hudson (born 1883, knighted 1885, died 1893), who was afterward commander-in-chief in Bombay in 1893. The men displayed conspicuous powers of endurance in these campaigns, and of gallantry in the field. A chosen band of the Indian officers and men were afterward sent to England, and received an enthusiastic welcome from all classes of the people. The only serious national calamity of this administration was on September 18, 1880, when a disastrous landslip occurred at Naini Tal, an important hill station near Simla, resulting in the death of 42 Europeans and 105 natives.

Lord Ripon availed himself of the unbroken peace which prevailed in India after 1881 to enter on a series of internal reforms.

The years 1882 and 1883 will be memorable for these great measures. By repealing the Vernacular Press Act, passed in 1878, he set free the native journals from the last restraints on the free discussion of public questions. In 1898 amendments to the code gave the government once more a control over the press, which was enforced by a series of sedition trials. His scheme of local self-government has opened a new era of political life to the natives of India. Lord Ripon did what he could to increase the number of natives in the civil service and increased their salaries. He established a system of municipal self-government which is not altogether suited to India, for in many places the rivalry between Hindus and Mohammedans is intense, and in most cases the Hindus are largely in the majority. The policy of decentralization was carried still further by Lord Ripon in 1882. He also looked with favor upon the Indian National Congress, which met for the first time in 1883.

At the same time, by the appointment of an educational commission, with a view to the spread of popular instruction on a broader basis, he sought to fit the people for the safe exercise of the rights which he conferred. This commission rendered the report upon its investigations in 1883.

He also laid the foundations for the great measure of land legislation for Bengal which passed into law under his successor, Lord Dufferin. The Bengal and Oudh Rent Acts were passed in March, 1885. The Bengal Act modified Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement of 1793, and Lord Canning's act of 1859, so as to guard the rights of the tenants against the zemindars or landlords. The Oudh act had a similar purpose.

In 1882 Lord Ripon's finance minister, Evelyn Baring, took off the import duties on cotton goods, and the whole Indian import duties were, with a few exceptions, abolished. This distinguished financier was born in Cromer Hall, England, on February 26, 1841, and was educated at Woolwich. He entered the Royal Artillery in 1858, but became private secretary to his cousin, Lord Northbrook, during his viceroyalty from 1872 to 1876. He was commissioner of the Egyptian public debt from 1877 to 1879 and controller-general in Egypt from 1879 to 1880. He was finance member of the governor-general's council from 1880 to 1883, when he left India to assume the high office of British representative at Cairo, amid the universal regret of the Indian people. He

1883-1884

was knighted in 1883, created Baron Cromer in 1892, Viscount Cromer in 1898, and Earl Cromer in 1901.

A department of agriculture had been created by Lord Mayo in 1871, but was abolished in 1877. Early in his rule Lord Ripon had reestablished this department, and he took measures to guard the country against famine. Lord Ripon also established provincial departments of agriculture. During the winter of 1883-1884 an international exhibition was held at Calcutta.

In 1884 he deputed officers to England, to give evidence before the parliamentary committee, with a view to the extension of Indian railroads. Lord Ripon retired at the end of 1884. Some of his measures for the promotion of local self-government, and especially the Ilbert Act of January, 1884, were considered by the European community to be unsuited to the actual condition of India.

This measure stirred up the most virulent opposition of the Anglo-Indians, though the number of native officials whose powers were enlarged was very small, at first only one. The measure was really designed to remedy a technical irregularity. The right of appeal safeguards all Europeans against possible injustice at the hands of native judges. But whether or not in advance of the time, it is now realized that he pointed out the directions in which progress must sooner or later take place. Lord Ripon loved the people, and was greatly beloved by them.

Lord Ripon had a group of noteworthy associates in his council and in charge of the provincial governments, who shared with him the work, and must bear with him a share of the responsibility and of the credit. Sir Donald Stewart became commander-in-chief in 1881, and was succeeded as military member of the council by Major General T. F. Wilson, who died in office in 1886. Baring and Colvin managed the finances, Stokes and Ilbert directed the law department, and Hope the public works, while Bayley, Thompson, and Gibbs complete the list of members of council.

Auckland Colvin, the son of John Russell Colvin, was born in 1838, and entered the Indian civil service in 1858. He was controller-general in Egypt from 1880 to 1882, financial adviser to the Khedive from 1882 to 1883, finance member of the governor-general's council from 1883 to 1887, and lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces from 1887 to 1892. He retired from India in 1892, and is now chairman of the Burma Railways Com-

pany. He was knighted in 1881. Whitley Stokes was born in 1830, and educated at the University of Dublin, and became a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1855. He went to India in 1862, where he held a succession of important legal posts, ending with his services as law member of the governor-general's council from 1877 to 1882, and as president of the Indian Law Commission of 1879. In addition to several law books he is the author of numerous works on the Celtic languages and literatures. He now lives in London. He was the "draftsman of many Indian consolidation acts, of the bulk of the present Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure," and of numerous other acts. Courtenay Peregrine Ilbert was born in 1841, educated at Oxford, and admitted as a barrister of Lincoln's Inn in 1869. He was law member of the governor-general's council from 1882 to 1886, and vice-chancellor of the University of Calcutta in 1885-1886. He was assistant parliamentary counsel to the treasury from 1886 to 1899, and then for two years parliamentary counsel to the treasury. Since 1901 he has been clerk of the house of commons. He was knighted in 1895. Theodore Cracraft Hope was born in 1831, and entered the Bombay civil service in 1853. He was public works member of the governor-general's council from 1882 to 1887. He was knighted in 1886. Steuart Colvin Bayley was born in 1836, and entered the Bengal civil service in 1856. He was employed in numerous important posts, was knighted in 1878, and was member of the governor-generals's council from 1882 to 1887, and lieutenant-governor of Bengal from 1887 to 1890. Since 1890 he has been secretary to the political and secret department of the India Office, and since 1895 a member of the council of India. Augustus Rivers Thompson, after about twenty years of service in India, became chief commissioner of British Burma from 1875 to 1878, member of the governor-general's council from 1878 to 1882, and lieutenant-governor of Bengal from 1882 to 1887. He was knighted in 1885 and died in 1890. James Gibbs was member of the Bombay council from 1874 to 1879, and of the council of the governor-general from 1880 to 1885. He was born in 1825 and died in 1886.

Duff governed Madras; Ferguson, Bombay; Eden and Thompson, Bengal; Couper and Alfred Lyall, the Northwestern Provinces; Egerton and Aitchison, the Punjab; Morris was still chief commissioner of the Central Provinces; Bernard was chief com-

1880-1884

missioner of British Burma, and James Lyall was resident in Mysore and chief commissioner of Coorg. Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, the son of the historian of the Marathas, was born in Scotland in 1829. He was member of parliament from 1857 to 1881, under secretary for India from 1868 to 1874, and for the colonies from 1880 to 1881. He was governor of Madras from 1881 to 1886, and was knighted upon his retirement. Between 1897 and 1905 he published a series of volumes of "Notes from a Diary." He died in 1906. James Fergusson was born in Edinburgh in 1832, and after some service in the army, including the Crimean War, he entered parliament and served as under secretary for India from 1860 to 1867, for the home office from 1867 to 1868, and for the foreign office from 1886 to 1891. He was postmaster-general from 1891 to 1892. He was governor of South Australia from 1869 to 1873, of New Zealand from 1873 to 1874, and of Bombay from 1880 to 1885. He is still living. Ashley Eden, a nephew of the earl of Auckland, was born in 1831. He entered the Indian civil service before the Mutiny and became chief commissioner of British Burma from 1871 to 1875, lieutenant-governor of Bombay from 1877 to 1882, and member of the council of India from 1882 till his death in 1887. He was knighted in 1878. George Ebenezer Wilson Couper was born in 1824, and entered the Bengal civil service in 1848, serving with the Lawrences in the Punjab and with Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, and later with Outram. He was chief commissioner of Oudh from 1871 to 1876, and lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces from 1876 to 1882, when he retired from India. He is still living. Alfred Comyn Lyall was born in 1835, and entered the Bengal civil service in 1855. He was knighted in 1881, and served as lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces from 1882 to 1887. He was member of the council of India from 1888 to 1903, and of the Privy Council since 1902. Robert Eyles Egerton was born in 1827, and entered the Bengal civil service in 1849. He was lieutenant-governor of the Punjab from 1877 to 1882, and has since lived in retirement. Charles Umpherston Aitchison was born in 1832, and educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and Halle. He entered the Indian civil service in 1855, and was knighted in 1881. He was chief commissioner of British Burma from 1878 to 1880, lieutenant-governor of the Punjab from 1882 to 1887, and member of the

governor-general's council from 1887 till his retirement in the following year. He died in 1896. He edited the "Collection of Treaties Relating to India." Charles Edward Bernard was born in 1837, and entered the Bengal civil service in 1858. He was chief commissioner of Burma from 1880 to 1887. He was knighted in 1886, and died in 1901. James Broadwood Lyall was born in 1838, and entered the Bengal civil service in 1858. He was resident in Mysore and chief commissioner of Coorg from 1883 to 1887, and lieutenant-governor of the Punjab from 1887 to 1892. He was member of the Royal Commission on Opium in 1893, and President of the Indian Famine Commission in 1898. He was knighted in 1888, and is still living.

The earl of Dufferin succeeded the Marquis of Ripon as viceroy in 1884. Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood was born June 21, 1826, and succeeded his father as Baron Dufferin in the Irish peerage in 1841. He was created Baron Dufferin in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1850, and was made an earl in 1871, and a marquis in 1888. Among lesser posts he held those of under secretary for India from 1864 to 1886, and for war in 1866, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and paymaster-general from 1868 to 1872. He was governor-general of Canada from 1872 to 1878; ambassador at St. Petersburg from 1879 to 1881; at Constantinople from 1881 to 1884. In India he sought to pursue a conservative policy, both at home and abroad, in contrast with the blundering imperialism of Lord Lytton, and the overzealous policy of internal reform of Lord Ripon. Circumstances, however, compelled the new viceroy to give constant attention to serious problems of foreign relations. Beyond the northwestern frontier, in central Asia, Russia was renewing her policy of aggression; beyond the eastern frontier, in Indo-China, France had also started upon an aggressive colonial policy.

Ever since the Crimean War Russia had been pressing her conquests in central Asia, and her humiliation at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 led her to redouble her activities in central Asia, where she finally occupied Merv in February, 1884. The advocates of a British forward policy in Afghanistan and on the northwest frontier of India regard Herat as the gate of India. The occupation of Merv placed Russia within easy striking reach of Herat, to the great alarm of the Russophobes. Immediately negotiations were opened between London and St. Petersburg, which

1884-1885

resulted in the appointment of a joint Afghan Frontier Commission in August, 1884. Sir Peter Stark Lumsden (born in 1829 and knighted in 1879), the British commissioner, promptly appeared in Afghanistan with a grand flourish. The Russian commission never appeared, but the Russian commander, General Komarov, was active. Nothing was accomplished except to cause a clash between Afghan soldiers and the Russians in the Penjdeh region. These events led to the holding of a *darbar* at Rawal Pindi on April 8, 1885, where the viceroy and the amir met, and the amir informed the viceroy that he had no interest in Penjdeh. This, in a way, destroyed the British position, but on March 30 the troops of General Komarov had violated the diplomatic understanding between England and Russia by attacking and driving back an Afghan force near Penjdeh. This event produced the famous war scare of April, 1885. Russia then took prompt measures to assure the completion of the negotiations, and arrangements for a new boundary commission were effected. The conduct of Gladstone's ministry in this matter, coupled with the withdrawal from the Sudan at the same time, called forth serious criticism, and the negotiations were ultimately completed by the new conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury. The work of delimiting the boundary between the Russian territories and Afghanistan was done chiefly by Lieutenant Colonel Ridgeway and by Paul Lessar. Joseph West Ridgeway entered the Bengal infantry in 1860. He was appointed commissioner to determine the Afghan boundary in 1885. He was envoy to Morocco in 1893, lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man from 1893 to 1895, and governor of Ceylon from 1896 to 1903. He was knighted in 1885, and is still living. Paul Lessar was of Montenegrin origin, but an agent in the Russian service, employed at various posts in Asia. He died in 1905 while minister of Russia at Peking.

Lord Dufferin continued the policy inaugurated by Lord Ripon in 1883 of paying the amir an annual subsidy of 12 lakhs of rupees, a sum later increased to 18 lakhs.¹ This policy, a compromise in its character, meant a full recognition of the autonomy of the amir in Afghanistan, but it also meant that England would make it her business to protect the amir and his territories, and to treat

¹ Twelve lakhs was nominally about \$600,000, but owing to the depreciation of the rupee actually much less. Eighteen lakhs at the present rate is worth \$583,200.

him as her necessary ally. The Penjdeh affair, with its menace of war, led the native states of India to come forward with loyal offers of their armies and resources to the British government. It also caused England to increase the number of European troops in India by 10,000 men, and the native contingent by about twice as many, requiring an increased annual expenditure of 1,500,000*l.*

During Lord Dufferin's administration the first forward movement was made at another point on the northwestern frontier. Arrangements were made by which Quetta, the Bolan Pass, and the neighboring territory became British Baluchistan in 1887. Some years later, in 1890-1891, by means of the Zhob Field Force, and similar expeditions, the British made more effective their control over independent Baluchistan. In 1893 the old khan of Kelat, who confessed to the murder of 3000 of his subjects during the 36 years of his reign, was deposed and his son set up in his stead, and in 1899 the frontiers of British Baluchistan were extended. Baluchistan is now nominally independent, but actually it is a protectorate under strict British surveillance, a very different position from that of Afghanistan. The development of Quetta and of British interests in Baluchistan was largely the work of the first agent of the governor-general in Baluchistan and first chief commissioner of British Baluchistan, Sir Robert Groves Sandeman. This man was born in 1838, and was employed in Baluchistan from 1877 till his death in 1892. He was knighted in 1879, and was chief commissioner of British Baluchistan from 1887 to 1892.

Beyond the eastern frontier, the unrest caused by the French activities in Indo-China led to a closer attention to affairs in the independent kingdom of upper Burma. The persistent misconduct of King Thebau, his ill-treatment of British subjects, and his rejection of all conciliatory offers led to British armed intervention. A force under General Harry North Dalrymple Prendergast (born 1834 and knighted in 1885) invaded upper Burma on November 14, 1885, and two weeks later, on the 28th, Thebau surrendered at his capital. The king was sent a prisoner to Madras. On January 1, 1886, his territories were annexed, and on September 25 were incorporated with lower Burma as a province of British India under Sir Charles Bernard as the first chief commissioner. Imperialism, rather than justice, characterized England's intervention in Burma, though the result of annexation has been the establishment of settled order, a better government, and

1884-1888

greater prosperity. Had England followed the policy laid down by Lord Canning after the Mutiny, and placed a representative of the royal family on the throne and administered the government in his name, and managed Burma like the native states of India, probably order would have been easily restored. The policy of annexation aroused the Burmese people, who sought to defend their independence by a protracted guerrilla warfare, which the English stigmatized as dakaity or brigandage. This led to long and expensive campaigning in upper Burma until the guerrilla or dakait bands were destroyed by harsh and rigorous methods. The annexation of Burma was opposed by the natives of India, both as a matter of policy and because of the heavy burden of resulting expenditure. They even suggested making Burma a crown colony, like Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. Burma was made a lieutenant-governor's province and given a legislative council on May 1, 1897.

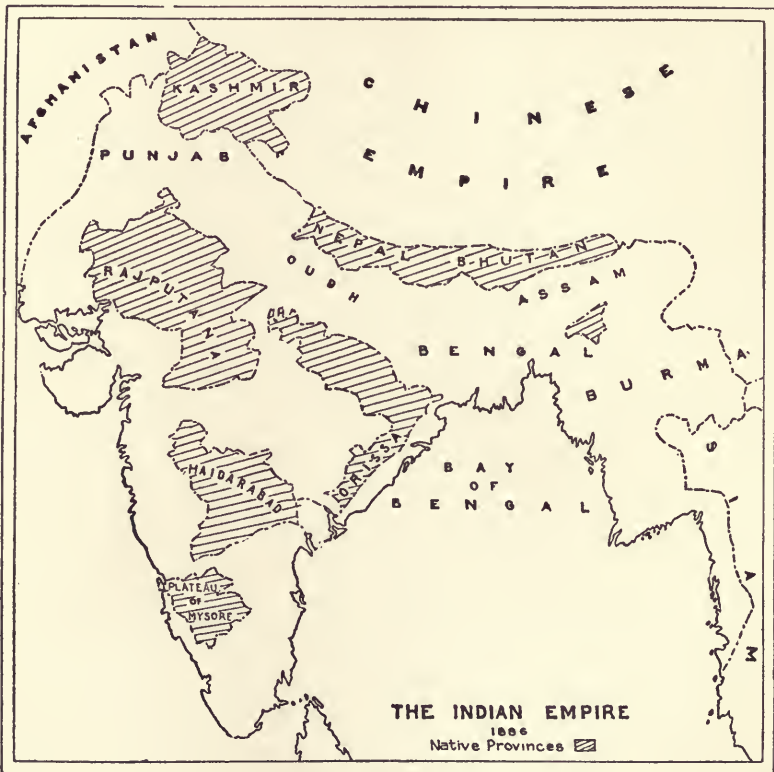
Early in 1886 a great camp of exercise was held on the memorable battle-plain of Panipat in the Punjab: and the fortress of Gwalior was given back by Lord Dufferin's government to its hereditary chief, the Maharaja Sindhia. It should be noted that Sindhia was loyal during the Mutiny, though his troops were not.

During 1887 the jubilee or fiftieth year of the reign of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress Victoria was celebrated with universal enthusiasm throughout India. A great commission inquired into the question of more largely employing native officers in the higher branches of the administration. This commission, headed by Sir Charles Aitchison, presented a report in 1887, which resulted in a gradual but complete remodeling of the civil service, so that in place of the old covenanted and uncovenanted civil service there now exist an imperial civil service, a provincial civil service, and a subordinate civil service. To the last two natives easily secure admission and far outnumber the Europeans, but in the imperial civil service the natives, though admitted, have to conform to regulations which are simple for Englishmen, but more difficult for a native to comply with. The result has been to give the natives an easier access to a larger number of offices.

The earl of Dufferin retired from office in 1888, and was created marquis of Dufferin and Ava for the services which he had rendered during his viceroyalty. He was ambassador at Rome

from 1888 to 1891, and at Paris from 1891 to 1896. He died February 12, 1902.

Lord Dufferin had been very popular with the Anglo-Indians, but his policy in Burma, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan had alienated native sympathies. He was renowned for his social graces, as was also Lady Dufferin, who will long be remembered in India for



her sympathetic interest in the native women. In order to supply them with proper medical and surgical attendance, she started the movement to obtain properly trained women nurses and doctors, and began a fund to promote such work in 1885.

The marquis of Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin. Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice was born January 14, 1845, and succeeded his father in 1866 as fifth marquis of Lansdowne (the first marquis was Lord Shelburne, the prime minister of George III.). He was a lord of the treasury from 1868 to 1872, and

1888-1894

under-secretary for war from 1872 to 1874, and for India in 1880. He was governor-general of Canada from 1883 to 1888, and viceroy of India from 1888 to 1894. He was secretary for war from 1895 to 1900, and for foreign affairs from 1900 to 1905.

Under Lord Lansdowne's rule the defenses of the north-western frontier of India were strengthened, and the passes from Afghanistan were secured against any possible invaders. This plan of frontier defense, worked out by General Roberts and by the military member of the governor-general's council, General George Tomkyns Chesney, provided for three things: railroad communication between the frontier and the military base in India; the fortification of selected positions commanding the passes into India; and the fortifications of great cantonments to serve as the immediate strategic base for operations along the frontier. Rawal Pindi was selected as the base for the defense of the important Khaibar Pass, with strong posts at Peshawar and at Attock, commanding the passage of the Indus. On the Baluchistan frontier Quetta is the strategic center, and the policy of Sir Robert Sandeman in dealing with the Baluchi tribes and chiefs was warmly supported by Lord Lansdowne, and was carried out with entire success. The character and the history of the land and the peoples on the Baluchi and Afghan frontiers have differed widely and necessitated widely different policies in dealing with them. At the same time the native chiefs were allowed to take a more important position than before in the armies of India. A number of them had come forward with offers of money and troops to aid in the defense of the country. Under Lord Lansdowne these offers were accepted. Many of the feudatories now maintain regiments, carefully drilled and armed, which in time of war would serve with the troops of the British government. These regiments are kept up free of cost to the British government, and are a free-will offering to it from the loyalty of the native princes. This policy was adopted in 1889, and a few British officers are assigned for purposes of supervision only, and the contingents are officered entirely by natives. These troops have served in the campaigns on the northwest frontier and in China in 1900. In 1901 these so-called imperial service troops numbered 6399 cavalry, 298 artillery, and 9754 infantry, a total of 16,451 men, supervised by 19 British officers. These troops are practically the *corps d'élite* of the armies of the native states. No definite statistics are available concerning the remainder of

the armies of the native states, which are ill-organized. The institution by Lord Curzon, at a later date, of an Imperial Cadet Corps for young Indian Chiefs and nobles, without necessarily leading to a military career, may give additional force and interest to the association of British and native troops.

While the native princes are thus zealous to aid the sovereign power, the peoples and races in the British provinces have been learning the first lessons of local self-government. Municipal councils and district boards have, during the past forty years, been gradually created throughout India by acts either of the government of India or of the provincial governments. The first case of election occurred in Lord Northbrook's administration. Their members consist chiefly of native gentlemen, many of whom are elected by their fellow citizens. These municipal councils and district boards now manage many branches of the local administration. Their legal powers and their practical ability to do good work are increasing. At the same time, the Indian National Congress, composed of delegates from all parts of India, has, since 1885, been held each December in one of the provincial capitals, such as Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad. This congress discusses plans for opening a larger share in the work of legislation and in the higher branches of the executive administration to natives of India. The delegates have always been Hindus, especially Bengali Brahmans. The Parsees and Mohammedans have, in general, held aloof from the congress and often have openly opposed it. The government has refused to accord it any official recognition, and has taken measures to keep the official classes from participating in it. Nevertheless, some of the strongest supporters of the congress have been retired officials. Two examples of this statement are Sir William Wedderburn, who presided at the fifth congress, and Allan Octavian Hume, who was born in 1829, and served in the Bengal civil service from 1849 to 1882. Wedderburn was born in 1838, and served in the Bombay civil service from 1860 to 1887, being judge of the high court, and chief secretary to the government. He was member of parliament from 1893 to 1900. He succeeded as fourth baronet in 1882, and was a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1895.

The resolutions of the congress have uniformly contained assertions of loyalty to the British government of India, and have demanded a certain group of reforms in the administration. The

1888-1894

freedom of criticism of the government and the character of the demands for reform have not caused the government to view the congress with approbation. Its claims to be representative of an Indian nation are false, for there is no Indian nation, the congress does not by any means represent all sections of the Indian population, and it is only in a limited sense representative in its constitution. The congress would be impossible were there no English rule, with its common education and speech, and its means of communication, especially the railroads. Two native Indians have stood for English constituencies and been elected to the House of Commons. The reports of the proceedings of the congress are regularly published in English, and are easily accessible. A periodical, called *India*, which is published in London and reports all the parliamentary debates concerning India, is, in a measure, an organ of the congress.

In 1892 the British parliament passed the Indian Councils Act, which increased the number of legislative members of the councils, and introduced a stronger non-official element. Under that act the local governments in India worked out a system of electing members to the legislative councils in accordance with the needs and conditions of each province. It has also been supplemented by a series of regulations issued under its authorization by the governor-general in council on June 23, 1893, which determine the method of selection of legislative members of council. The act permits discussion of the budget and interpellation in the legislative council.

The year 1893 will be memorable for the first general election of representative members to the Indian legislative councils. Side by side with this political movement, efforts have been made to reform certain evils in the social and domestic life of the Hindus, arising out of the customs of child-marriage and of the enforced celibacy of Hindu widows. The whole tendency of these efforts, under the guidance of the social reformer, Behramji Merwanji Malabari, is to protect young Indian girls and to improve the status of Indian women. He is a Parsee. Born in 1853, he has spent his life as an author, editor, and social reformer. For twenty years he edited the *Indian Spectator*, and he is now the editor of *East and West*. He was mainly instrumental in securing the passage of the Age of Consent Act.

As early as 1856 the government of India had legalized the

remarriage of widows, and in 1870 it had passed a female infanticide act. In 1887 the courts of India were occupied with the case of Rukhmabai, which involved the right of the man to enforce the completion of the marriage contract. In 1888 the princes of Rajputana agreed to fix the minimum age for marriage at fourteen for girls and at eighteen for boys. In March, 1891, the government of India raised the age of consent from ten to twelve years. About 1890 the Pandita Ramabai, who is well known in America, began her famous work at Poona for the education of Hindu widows.

The old system, by which the Indian armies were commanded by three separate commanders-in-chief in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had become antiquated, owing to the quicker communication between the three presidencies by means of railroads, steamers, and the telegraph. For a long time the commander-in-chief in Bengal had also been commander-in-chief for all India. It was therefore determined to have only one central commander-in-chief, with four lieutenant-generals under him at the head of the four great military divisions of India. The separate commanders-in-chief for Madras and Bombay were abolished. Thus in Bengal, the Punjab, Bombay, and Madras there was a lieutenant-general who was practically the head of an army corps. The native regiments were renumbered, and various other measures were taken to blot out every trace of the old provincial army system, and to give strength to the new arrangements. This long-desired reform was worked out chiefly by General Roberts, though not all of the measures went into effect until after the close of his service as commander-in-chief. By 1895, after five years of work, the changes were completed.

In 1893 the old religious strife between the Hindus and Mussulmans broke out afresh. A series of fanatical riots took place at the festivals of the two faiths in many of the British provinces and native states of India, from Burma to the northwest and Bombay. In some of these tumults, especially in the city of Bombay, much blood was shed, men were killed, and houses were burned. By the end of 1893 the excitement had calmed down again. There were similar but less violent and less widespread disturbances in later years, but they have been of slight account since 1895, when the government began the policy of requiring the turbulent locality to defray the cost of suppressing the riot. Apparently the rea-

1888-1894

son for the riots was the denunciation by Hindu fanatics of the Mohammedans for killing cows, which the Hindus consider sacred.

The pacification of Burma was scarcely completed when Lord Lansdowne arrived, and under his administration field forces had to be employed against the Chins on the Bengal border, the Karens and the Shans on the Siamese frontier, and the Kakhyens near the Chinese border. These tribes all submitted gradually. Later a series of agreements with China resulted in a complete delimitation of the frontier by 1902. The murder of several English officers at Manipur on March 24, 1891, was followed by a punitive expedition, which quieted the disturbances in that state. In 1889 an interesting case arose over the malfeasance of an English official named Crawford, who was finally removed from the service by Lord Reay, the governor of Bombay. So great was the outcry by English officials, it was found advisable to recall Lord Reay. It is interesting to note that when Lord Lansdowne entered office old Haileyburians were still holding many of the most important posts in India, but nearly all of them had retired before Lord Lansdowne left India. The last Haileyburian to retire from the service was Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep, who retired in 1904, after twenty-six years of service as judge of the high court at Calcutta. While Haileyburians had monopolized the important posts at the arrival of Lord Lansdowne, before his viceroyalty closed a large number of the highest posts came to be held by Etonians. In 1890 Prince Albert Victor, eldest son of the Prince of Wales, afterward Edward VII., made a tour of the country, and in the same year, the csarevitch, later Tsar Nicolas III., paid a visit to India.

The continued fall in the rupee from its nominal value of fifty cents to an actual value of about twenty-nine cents, in 1893, with a further downward inclination toward twenty-five cents, seriously embarrassed the Indian finances. India had yearly to remit about \$90,000,000 in gold to England, chiefly in payment of interest on loans, railroad material, and army charges; and this sum, which would have amounted to 180,000,000 rupees with the rupee equal to fifty cents, would amount to 360,000,000 rupees with the rupee at a quarter of a dollar. The remedy proposed by the government of India was bimetallism; that is, to establish a fixed ratio between silver and gold for purposes of coinage by international agreement. As England and the western nations

could not combine to carry out that scheme, the Indian mints were closed for free coinage in 1893, in order to render rupees scarce and so to raise and to keep up their sterling value to twenty-nine cents. This expectation was not realized, for the price of silver continued to fall, and in 1895 the value of the rupee sank to about twenty-seven cents. A royal commission was appointed in that year to inquire into Indian finances, with a view, if possible, to securing some remedy for the situation.

After the presentation of its report, a gold standard was established in 1899, and fixity of exchange was secured. The rupee has since remained at thirty-three cents. Sir Auckland Colvin's successors as finance members of the governor-general's council have had to bear most of the burden of settling this important financial problem. They have been David Miller Barbour, from 1888 to 1893; James Westland, from 1893 to 1899; Clinton Edward Dawkins, from 1899 to 1900, and Sir Edward FitzGerald Law, from 1900 to 1904.

In January, 1894, Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Lansdowne. Victor Alexander Bruce was born near Montreal, Canada, during his father's governor-generalship, on May 16, 1849. He succeeded his father, who died while viceroy of India in 1863, as ninth earl of Elgin and Kincardine. He was commissioner of works in 1886.

The financial reforms and tax reductions of Lord Ripon's administration had been largely undone by the Burma war, which cost 4,000,000*l.*, the Penjdeh scare, which cost 2,000,000*l.*, and the army increase at an additional annual cost of 1,500,000*l.* To meet this the income tax had been revived in 1886, and the salt tax increased in 1888, and a five per cent. customs duty was imposed in 1894, and extended to cotton goods in 1895. The license tax, however, had been repealed in 1886.

After much discussion, this duty was extended to Manchester cotton cloths of the finer qualities, with which the Indian mills do not compete. A curious panic was caused during the summer of 1894 by the secret smearing of multitudes of trees in northern India, and hidden and ominous meanings were ascribed to it. The practice was found to be a harmless act of certain devotees to call popular attention to the shrine of their god.

In 1893 a royal commission was issued to inquire into the results of using opium in India, and the possibility of prohibiting

1894-1897

it. After examining many witnesses in England and India, eight of the nine commissioners reported in 1895 that the results of using opium in India were much less harmful than had been supposed in England. It was found that opium sent scarcely any criminals to the Indian jails, scarcely any patients to the Indian hospitals, and scarcely any lunatics to the Indian asylums. It was proved that opium does not act, as alcohol does in Great Britain, as a cause of crime, disease, and death, while it is largely used as a remedy for fever and malaria. Parliament agreed with the royal commission's report, and declined to prohibit the use of opium in India.

Another parliamentary commission made an inquiry into the use of bhang, ganja, and similar native drugs, with like results. It was pointed out that an attempt to prohibit the use of opium and similar drugs would lead to an increased use of alcoholic beverages by the natives, which would be productive of far greater evils. An effort to supplant the use of opium as a febrifuge was made by the introduction of the cinchona tree, which has been grown in India with some success, and its bark has been used to some extent. Opium may be grown only by licensed individuals, who are required to sell their whole product to the government, which manufactures the marketable article, and sells it at regular auction for export. Opium grows in Behar, the Northwestern Provinces, and Oudh, and their product is called Bengal opium. It also grows in certain native states in central India and Rajputana, and their product is known as Malwa opium, and passes into government hands the same as the Bengal opium. About ninety per cent. of the exported opium goes to China. Two-thirds of the profits go to the government. Opium is rarely smoked in India except in Burma. In considering the report of the opium commission, special attention should be given to the minority report of Henry Joseph Wilson, who vigorously criticised the conduct of the commission. Wilson was born in 1833, and has been a member of parliament since 1885. He is a radical, a vigorous opponent of all the Chamberlain policies, and a notable reform agitator.

In 1895 the government began the inspection of the pilgrim ships between India and Arabia, and the measure received the approval of the Mohammedans. In 1897 a parliamentary commission investigated the question of contagious diseases in the army, dealing especially with the difficult and serious problem of

venereal diseases, which were extensively prevalent. The tea plantations of Assam were seriously damaged by an earthquake on June 12, 1897. A legislative council was granted to the Punjab in 1897, and also to Burma, which was raised to the rank of a lieutenant-governor's province. The diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 was duly celebrated in India, and the native princes sent detachments of the imperial service troops to London to participate in the festivities. An agitation for imperial penny postage took place at this time, and India coöperated promptly with other parts of the British empire in carrying out the plan. The action was followed by a corresponding reduction of the domestic postage rate in India.

During the governor-generalships of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin a series of measures were taken to settle the boundaries of the Indian empire on its eastern and northeastern borders. In the east the territories of upper Burma, annexed in 1886, were molded into a peaceful and prosperous British province. England concluded agreements with China respecting Burma, its frontier, and its trade on July 24, 1886, March 1, 1894, and February 4, 1897. The sphere of French influence from the Tonquin side was defined in the agreement made with France on January 15, 1896.

In the extreme northwest of India, the frontier between the British dominions and Afghanistan was fixed. While affairs on the Baluchistan frontier have caused almost no trouble, the situation on the Afghan frontier has always been a perplexing one. In 1864 Sir Bartle Frere, who had easily maintained satisfactory conditions along the frontier of Sind during his administration, wrote to Sir John Lawrence protesting against the policy pursued on the Punjab frontier, which, by contrast, was always a scene of disturbance. Lawrence replied: "From the borders of Sind northward, the character of the people both in the hills and on the plains differs as you go along." These turbulent tribes occupied the hill country and the valleys lying between the Indus and Afghanistan. Many of them were of Indo-European stock, and had never been subdued by the passing generations and races of conquerors. Over many of them the amir claimed a suzerainty which he never made real. The position of these tribes was, in a measure, a guarantee of the safety of India from invasion on that frontier, but the tribesmen were a perpetual menace to the

1894-1898

friendly relations of the British and Afghans. Scarcely a year went by that one or more of these tribes did not raid the peaceful plains below or commit some offense which required the sending of a punitive expedition. This condition went on year after year until the settlement of the Russo-Afghan frontier and the development of Lord Roberts' plan of frontier defense had been completed. Then the government of India decided to secure an exact delimitation of the frontier between India and Afghanistan and to reduce to order the tribes within the bounds of India and to encourage the amir to establish his power over his tribes. The Russo-Afghan frontier was finally completed by the agreement concerning the Pamirs on March 11, 1895. At the same time the conditions on the frontier, which had been exceedingly restless since 1888, reached a climax in Chitral.

The more southerly part of the boundary had been defined by the agreement negotiated with the amir on November 12, 1893, by Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, the son of Sir Henry Marion Durand, which conceded Waziristan to the English. The new territory was occupied by General William Stephen Alexander Lockhart, the nephew of the biographer of Sir Walter Scott, and the boundary was surveyed in 1895. In the same year Nasirulla Khan, second son of Abdur Rahman, and full brother of the Amir Habibulla, for the first time visited England. He received a magnificent reception, and visited the chief centers of British industry and commerce.

At the extreme north the valley of Kashmir, which, at the close of the Sikh wars, had been recognized by the British as an independent state under their protection, was brought into closer relations with India by the establishment of a British resident at Srinagar, the capital, after the accession of the new maharaja in 1885. Kashmir entered on a new development by the settlement of its land revenue and of the cultivator's rights, on equitable principles, by a highly skilled British officer whom the maharaja employed for that purpose. This officer was Walter Roper Lawrence, who was born in 1857, entered the Indian civil service in 1879, and was knighted in 1903. He was settlement commissioner in Kashmir from 1889 to 1895. He was private secretary to Lord Curzon from 1898 to 1903, and head of the staff of the Prince of Wales during his Indian tour in 1905-1906.

British influence was firmly established in the outlying prov-

inces of Kashmir to the north, along the line of Hunza, Nagar, and Gilgit, by Colonel Algernon George Arnold Durand, son of Sir Henry Marion Durand, who opened a British agency at Gilgit in March, 1889, and reestablished the control of the maharaja of Kashmir over those regions.

Owing to a disputed succession and the ambitious designs of Umra Khan, a neighboring chieftain, as well as to the general conditions of unrest, Chitral was a storm-center at the beginning of 1895, when the Pamir question was being settled. George Scott Robertson, the British agent at Gilgit, who was then at Chitral, found himself involved in the struggle, was besieged in the Chitral fort, and defended himself with great gallantry against overwhelming odds for 46 days. A powerful force, under Robert Cunliffe Low, was advanced from the Punjab to relieve him, while a smaller body of Indian and Kashmir troops, under Lieutenant Colonel James Graves Kelly, marched to his aid across the snows from Gilgit. After the two expeditions had overcome great physical obstacles, from the height of the passes and the then almost inaccessible situation of Chitral, the enemy abandoned the siege of the fort on April 18, 1895. The political officer at Chitral and his little garrison were saved, and the British influence was confirmed in that remote mountainous corner which, by the recent agreement with Russia, had come within fifty miles of the Russian sphere of influence in central Asia. The Waziris went on the war-path again in June, 1897, and General George Corrie Bird, who entered the Indian army in 1856, was sent to subdue them. The Swatis and Mohmands arose in July, and in August the Afridis in the Khaibar Pass joined the insurgents, among whom a Mohammedan fanatic, known as the Mad Mullah, was active. The campaign for the subjugation of these tribes is generally known as the Tirah campaign.

The commander-in-chief in India at this time was Sir George White, and the generals who played the leading part in the campaign were Lockhart, Bird, Palmer, Blood, and Elles. George Stuart White was born in 1835 and entered the army in 1853. He served in the Mutiny and in Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, and on the northwest frontier. He was commander-in-chief in India from 1893 to 1898. He served in South Africa in 1899-1900, where he defended Ladysmith. He was governor of Gibraltar from 1900 to 1904, and has since been governor of Chelsea Hospital. He

1894-1899

won the Victoria Cross in 1879, and was knighted in 1886. Arthur Power Palmer was born in 1840 and entered the Indian army in 1857. He served through the Mutiny, and in Abyssinia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Chin Hills, and Tirah. He was commander-in-chief in India from 1900 to 1902. He was knighted in 1894 and died in 1904. Bindon Blood was born in 1842 and entered the royal engineers in 1860. He served in Zululand, Afghanistan, Egypt, and Chitral. In 1897-1898 he commanded the Malakand Field Force and the Buner Field Force. He served in South Africa from 1899 to 1901, where he became lieutenant-general, commanding troops in eastern Transvaal. He is now lieutenant-general commanding in the Punjab. Edmond Roche Elles was born in 1848 and entered the royal artillery in 1867. He served in the Lushai, Egyptian, and Hazara expeditions. From 1895 to 1900 he commanded the Peshawar district, and commanded the Mohmand Expeditionary Force in 1897. From 1901 to 1905 he was military member of the governor-general's council. He was knighted in 1898. The campaign ended in February, 1898, having cost the British 2500 lives and about 3,000,000*l.* Since then the frontier has remained comparatively quiet, and later certain districts were organized by Lord Curzon into the Northwest Frontier Province.

In 1898 the earl of Elgin was succeeded by Lord George Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston, who had already considerable experience of India's needs. Lord Curzon was born at Kedleston on January 11, 1859, and was educated at Eton and Balliol college, Oxford. He was a member of parliament from 1886 to 1898, under secretary for India from 1891 to 1892, and for foreign affairs from 1895 to 1898. He traveled widely in central, eastern, and southern Asia, and wrote upon Indian, Persian, and other Asiatic questions. He was created Baron Curzon of Kedleston in the Irish peerage in 1898. His wife is Mary Victoria Leiter, daughter of the late L. Z. Leiter of Washington.

He formally assumed the office of governor-general at Calcutta on January 6, 1899. Special commissions of inquiry were at once appointed with view to a series of schemes of administrative reforms, embracing police, irrigation, railroads, and education in every branch. These commissions nearly all reported in 1903. The work of putting their recommendations into operation was necessarily a slow one, and Lord Curzon scarcely had time to accomplish all that was planned, and the result of the work cannot

yet be judged. The irrigation commission, under the presidency of the experienced engineer and Indian official, Sir Colin Campbell Scott-Moncrieff (born 1836, knighted 1903), planned for protective works costing 440,000,000 rupees, about \$142,560,000, and requiring twenty years of work. In his own words, Lord Curzon had set himself the task "of placing upon the anvil every branch of Indian policy and administration, of testing its efficiency and durability, and of doing, if possible, something for its efficiency and durability." He undertook also a series of visits to native states and parts of India never previously visited by a viceroy, and was received everywhere with a cordiality which witnessed to the sense of security and strength which proceed from incorporation in the great unity of the Indian empire.

In 1900 Lord Curzon visited Assam and Quetta, and later made a tour of the coast, either by land or sea, from Karachi, around Cape Comorin, to Calcutta. In 1901 he went to Nepal and to Burma, visiting even remote parts. In 1903 he made a notable tour of the Persian Gulf to strengthen England's control in those parts. In 1904 he made an extended visit to England, being the first viceroy to do so during his incumbency.

To him is due, also, the sustained policy of archæological conservation and restoration, which will preserve to the peoples of India the great monuments, political, military, and religious, of the past, as abiding memorials of the different ages of the long history of the land. A brilliant young Cambridge graduate, John Hubert Marshall (born 1876), was appointed director-general of the Archæological Survey of India in 1902, and an annual appropriation of 100,000 rupees (\$32,400) was placed at his disposal for the preservation of national monuments. The policy was also adopted of stopping the use of historic buildings for offices and barracks, and preserving them henceforth as nearly as possible in their original condition, while in other cases efforts are made to preserve the monuments from natural decay.

Military reforms were continued and amplified. The native states were encouraged in their support of the Imperial Service Troops, and an Imperial Cadet Corps was created for the training of the sons of native princes. Plans were worked out for the establishment of an Indian Staff College at Quetta. A native army reserve was created, with the intention of retaining one native soldier in the reserve to every three in active service. The re-

1899-1904

cruiting of the native troops was more largely carried out on the basis of creating racial and tribal regiments. Not only was the number of Sikh and Gurkha regiments increased, but other tribal regiments such as the Garhwalis were organized. This appeal to tribal and racial loyalty, as a means of securing an *esprit de corps* among the native troops, is best exemplified in the case of the Afridis of the Khaibar Pass, who have been organized into the Khaibar Rifles. A large addition of British officers was made to the native force, a transport service was created, and the entire Indian army was rearmed with Lee-Enfield rifles of .303 bore. Breech-loading guns were introduced for the artillery, and smokeless powder was adopted. British troops were dispatched from India to South Africa, where they did valuable service in Natal at the beginning of the Boer War, while native troops were employed in colonial garrisons to release British troops for service in South Africa. Native troops were also sent to China, where they joined in the relief of the besieged legations at Peking in 1900. The employment of these troops belonging to the Indian establishment for purely British service resulted in a large saving of expense to the government of India, which was thus enabled to secure the rearming of the Indian army without an increase in the military budget. From the Indian establishment 13,200 Europeans, with a large number of native camp-followers, were dispatched to South Africa at the outbreak of the Boer War. Three sepoy regiments were sent to serve in the garrisons of the Mauritius, Singapore, and Hongkong, in order to release European troops for service in South Africa, it not being considered good policy to use native Indian troops to fight a people of European origin like the Boers. The native princes offered troops for service in South Africa, but they were declined, though afterward accepted for the China expedition of 1900. A seemingly curious counterpart of this was the order issued by Lord Curzon in August, 1900, requiring native princes to secure the permission of the government of India to travel abroad, but it was intended to hold to their duty as rulers certain native princes who neglected their people to enjoy themselves abroad. In 1901 the number of troops from the Indian establishment serving elsewhere was 1500 natives in Mauritius, 800 natives and 2100 British in Ceylon, 800 natives in Singapore, 600 natives in Jubaland, 5200 British in South Africa, and 300 British and 16,300 natives in China, making a total of

7600 British and 20,000 natives. These have from time to time been returned to India.

Considerable reforms were undertaken under Lord Curzon in the system of land revenue assessments, as well as special measures to arrest agricultural indebtedness. Especially notable is the Land Alienation Act in the Punjab, by which an endeavor has been made to check the evils of growing debt and the consequent expropriation of the agricultural population. Much industrial legislation has had the same object of ameliorating the condition of the poorer classes; and as administrators of a reasoned policy, agricultural and financial, Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, who entered the Indian civil service in 1870, and Sir Edward Law have done highly beneficial work. A board of scientific advice has also been founded, and experiments in agricultural research and education have been planned and inaugurated. Measures were taken to assist the indigo growers to meet the competition of the artificial product manufactured in Germany. To assist the sugar growers, countervailing duties were levied on imports of bounty-grown sugar, but later these were modified to conform with the arrangements made by the Brussels Conference in 1902.

The last five years of the nineteenth century were years of almost unparalleled misfortune and distress in India because of the plague and the famines. Early in October, 1896, the bubonic plague was certified to exist in the Bombay presidency. The bubonic plague seems to be identical with the Black Death of the fourteenth century and with the plague that devastated London in 1665, and probably with the visitations of plague that swept over Asia and Europe at earlier dates. It had been endemic in several restricted localities, such as certain districts of Mesopotamia, and certain Himalayan valleys, and for about thirty years in some mountain villages in Yun-nan, China. From these last places it spread in 1894 to Canton, where there were 50,000 deaths, and to Hong-kong, where it caused 10,000 deaths. The plague was studied by the Pasteur Institute and by eminent scientists; and a sterilized culture for preventive inoculation was discovered in 1896 by Waldemar Mordecai Wolff Haffkine, a Russian bacteriological expert in the Indian service, which has been used with considerable success. Several scientists have discovered serums for which they have claimed either a preventive or curative value, but none of them has had even the moderate success of Haffkine's cultures. The

1899-1904

exact cause of the disease has been a matter of much uncertainty, though it is certainly immediately connected with unsanitary conditions, and almost never affects people who are living under proper sanitary conditions and being properly nourished. The spread of the disease may be checked by vigorous sanitary measures, as has been proven in the case of the American and European towns in which some cases have appeared. The way in which the disease enters the system has never been satisfactorily determined, but it does not seem to be through food, nor does mere touch seem to communicate the disease. Apparently the disease enters directly into the blood through cuts, abrasions, or bites, but this is only partially proven. There has been an effort to associate the spread of the disease with rats, and while they may be responsible, they are not always so. Fleas have been held responsible, and the latest report concerning the investigations of the experts at Bombay lays the responsibility upon the rat fleas.

In spite of hygienic precautions, the plague spread rapidly in the Bombay presidency, and before the close of 1896 many of the population had fled. In 1897 and 1898 it increased in Poona and other parts of western India, and the measures used to disinfect dwellings and treat plague cases caused riots in several districts. This opposition to the sanitary measures of the government reached its height in the murder at Poona, on June 22, 1897, of Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst. These sanitary measures conflicted with the caste system and the seclusion of native women; hence the violent opposition which has caused the government to make the sanitary measures voluntary, instead of compulsory. The virulent criticism of the government policy in the native press led to a series of sedition trials in 1897, followed by the adoption of new press regulations on March 12, 1898. From the Bombay presidency the plague spread to other parts of India, especially to the Punjab, Bengal, and the United Provinces, and in 1905 even to Burma. The total number of deaths reported prior to 1901 exceeded 400,000; in 1901 there were 272,000 deaths from plague; in 1902, 559,602; in 1903, 853,573; and in 1904, 1,021,648. The plague reached its height in the early months of 1905, when 57,702 deaths were reported for the week ending April 1. Since then the epidemic seems to have been wearing itself out, for the number of deaths had fallen so that for the whole month of October, 1905, there were only 14,296, and since that time the dispatches have

scarcely mentioned the plague. The prolonged epidemic has made necessary the rebuilding of considerable portions of Bombay, Calcutta, and other places in a sanitary manner. The self-sacrificing work of doctors, nurses, ministers of religion, and officials has been warmly eulogized by the government. The almost complete immunity of these persons, who were in direct and constant contact with the disease, has been remarkable, but is no doubt due to the



careful sanitary conditions under which they have lived, and to their sufficient and proper nourishment.

At the same time India was visited by a series of most severe famines, which affected several provinces of British India, as well as many native states. In 1896 the rainfall was five inches less than the normal 41 inches; in 1897 the rains were generally sufficient, and in 1898 profuse, but in 1899 the deficiency was eleven inches, being the worst recorded; and in 1900 the rains were once

1898-1904

more sufficient. The result of this fluctuation in the rainfall was a famine from September, 1896, to October, 1897, affecting 310,000 square miles and 35,000,000 people in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bengal and the Central Provinces; and another lasting from September, 1899, to November, 1900, especially in Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Rajputana, affecting more than 400,000 square miles and 95,000,000 persons. In this latter famine the area affected was three and one-half times that of the United Kingdom, and the population affected was two and one-third times as great. Relief was everywhere organized, and as many as 26 per cent. of the population were in receipt of assistance during the worst period in some parts of the country. At one time more than 4,500,000 were receiving aid in the five most afflicted provinces, while in all India in June, 1900, about 6,500,000 persons, a number equal to the population of the London metropolitan police district, were in the relief camps. The cost to the government of the 1897 famine was about 17,000,000*l.*, and of the 1900 famine about 13,000,000*l.* The smaller figures in 1900 are due to the lesser area of British India affected, the famine being most serious in the native states. In 1897 England subscribed liberally to the Mansion House Fund, but in 1900 much less was received, largely because of the South African War. In both years, especially in 1900, foreign countries subscribed liberally to relief funds. In 1900 the United States government assigned a naval vessel to transport supplies to India. The 1900 famine was the most widespread recorded in Indian history, though not so acute as the Orissa famine of 1866, nor so fatal as the terrible Bengal famine of 1770. During the whole period, owing to the strenuous exertions of the government, the general mortality was less than in previous famines, and the distress more amply and swiftly relieved. A commission, under Sir Anthony Patrick MacDonnell, lieutenant-governor of the Northwestern Provinces and chief commissioner of Oudh from 1895 to 1901, was appointed to consider the whole circumstances, and they reported in May, 1901, making valuable suggestions for dealing with future periods of drought and scarcity.

The rains were irregular and in some places not only late but insufficient in the later months of 1905, but there was no serious famine situation to handle, though several hundred thousand were employed on relief works. The number in receipt of relief, re-

ported on April 16, 1906, was 475,000, mostly in Bombay, Ajmere, Rajputana, Central India States, and the United Provinces. Two other disasters during the viceroyalty are to be noted. On September 25, 1899, a landslide at Darjiling caused considerable loss of life, including five children of Mr. Lee, an American missionary. On April 4, 1905, an earthquake shock was felt in north-western India. Most of the damage was confined to an area of about 700 square miles in the Punjab, where the loss of property was enormous, and 15,000 lives were lost, chiefly at the hill stations of Dharmasala and Kangra.

After long consideration it was decided, at the close of 1901, to create a Northwest Frontier Province under a chief commissioner directly subordinate to the government of India. Roughly speaking, the new province contains all of the territory lying between the newly defined frontier of Afghanistan and the upper course of the River Indus, thus including such former portions of the Punjab as Peshawar, Kohat, and Dera Ismail Khan, and such border territories as Chitral, Khaibar, and Kurram. It has an area of more than 16,000 square miles and a population of more than 2,000,000, but its important strategic position is entirely out of proportion to its size. The creation was the occasion for the declaration of a policy of neither neglecting nor crushing the frontier tribes, but of military concentration and tribal conciliation. Military garrisons were withdrawn from the frontier posts to be massed at the military bases, and the tribal militia and levies were welcomed and utilized in their place. The military bases were at the same time connected with the frontier posts by a system of light railroads. The first chief commissioner of the Northwest Frontier Province is Lieutenant Colonel Harold Arthur Deane, who was born in 1854 and entered the army in 1874. He served in the Afghan war, on police duty in the Andamans and Nicobars, and as a deputy commissioner in the Punjab. In 1895 he was the political officer with the Chitral Relief Force, and remained as resident and political agent in Dir, Swat, and Chitral until he was appointed resident in Kashmir in 1900. He became chief commissioner of the Northwest Frontier Province in 1901, and was knighted in 1906. Lord Curzon's frontier policy is a clear and definite one, carefully worked out from the foundation. It is not the "forward policy," nor is it "Lawrence's policy," nor yet a compromise. It is a new policy created by Lord Curzon, and it

1898-1904

has resulted in the maintenance of the most satisfactory conditions that have existed on the frontier since the annexation of the Punjab.

In September, 1901, the amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan died. He was succeeded by his oldest son, Habibulla, who had been associated with him in the administration for some years and who began his rule well by an amnesty, and showed a disposition to maintain cordial relations with the British government. Troubles in Waziristan among the Mahsud Waziris, where outrages on British subjects had been constant, were met by several small punitive expeditions, but the viceroy, by measures of blockade followed by retaliatory sallies, secured a satisfactory settlement. This region, however, still remains the most unsettled and restless on the frontier.

The viceroy's visit to Nepal in 1901 was evidence of the friendly relations with another neighboring state with which in early days there had been war; and of the safe and quiet condition of the northern frontier, except for the Tibetan question, which was gradually becoming a matter of sufficient importance to demand the close attention of the government of India.

In itself the change of sovereigns in England in 1901 did not mark an historical epoch, though the event was fraught with fully as much importance for India as for England. Victoria, the first empress of India, closed her long reign of more than sixty-three years over the British dominions on January 22, 1901. Nowhere had the expansion of the British empire and the advancement of British subjects under the rule of the queen-empress been marked by more valiant effort, or more splendid achievement, than in India, though it must be added that no part of the empire had passed through such bitter trials and such deep afflictions. Both in achievement and in affliction her Indian subjects had always received the fullest sympathy from the empress. Though she had never visited India, her profound interest in the welfare of the people of India had often been manifested, as when in her later years she undertook to learn the Hindustani language.

In 1887 the queen had included some native Indians among her attendants. One of them, a groom of the chamber, the munshi (interpreter or secretary) Abdul Karim, gave her lessons in Hindustani, and she made some progress in the language. Her counsel and advice to her subordinates, the real rulers of India, had been

marked by wisdom and an earnest desire to conserve the interests and increase the prosperity of her people in India. Nowhere in all the countries which she had ruled was there a more genuine sorrow, a more profound sense of loss, than in India. At a meeting in which all classes and creeds were represented it was decided to commemorate her great services to India by a Victoria Hall in Calcutta, to contain and concentrate in memorial the historic interests of the different ages of the past of the great Indian empire. The cornerstone was laid by the Prince of Wales on January 4, 1906.

On August 9, 1902, Edward VII., who when Prince of Wales had visited India in 1875, was crowned in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of many Indian princes among the representatives of the peoples united under his sway. A contingent of Indian troops, representing almost every part of the great empire, was conspicuous in the military pageants which accompanied the period of rejoicing. The Indian commemoration, the coronation *darbar*, took place at Delhi on January 1, 1903, when Edward VII. was proclaimed by the viceroy as emperor on the same site on which Lord Lytton had announced the imperial title of Victoria, just twenty-six years earlier. Over a hundred rulers of separate states, whose united population amounted to sixty millions of people, from the Arab sheiks of Aden on the west to the Shan chiefs of the Mekong on the east, were assembled to testify their allegiance to their common sovereign in the presence of his brother, Prince Arthur William Patrick Albert, the duke of Connaught. The viceroy, speaking on behalf of the emperor, assured the princes and people of India that their rights and liberties would be respected and their welfare earnestly sought under his rule, which he trusted would bring to India the benefits "of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth." The inauguration of the new reign was marked not only by ceremonial pomp and grandeur indicative of the unity, vast extent, and abounding riches of the great Indian empire, but also by a considerable reduction of taxes, which for the first time in twenty years lightened the burden of the toiling masses of the Indian people. The extra tax on salt, which had been added in 1888, was removed, and the amount of exemption under the income tax was increased. This reduction was the natural result of a large surplus revenue in the previous year, and

1898-1904

it has for the present been justified, as the budget still continues to show a surplus.

England also marked the opening century by an act of justice in her dealings with India. Though England has never taxed India nor drawn any revenue from her for her own profit, she has compelled India to bear all the expenses of her own administration, and has not failed to extend that requirement to expenditures for purposes in which the interest of India was, to say the least, uncertain. The discussion aroused by this practice led to the appointment in 1895 of a commission to consider the matter. In consequence of its reports made in 1896 and 1900, it was arranged that after April 1, 1901, the English government should relieve the Indian government of annual charges to the amount of 257,500*l.*, chiefly for the transport of troops to India, for Aden, and for diplomatic expenses in Asia. Though the direct gain to India was slight, the moral gain was considerable, and it is not likely that India will again be charged with such items as the Indo-Egyptian expeditions of 1882 and 1885, and the expenses of the shah's visit to England. In 1902 the expenses of the native princes of India in attending the coronation were borne by England and India jointly.

The disastrous famines of 1897 and 1900 emphasized the necessity of pushing with even greater vigor the policy of internal improvements. Steady progress has been made in the construction of irrigation works in accordance with the broad plans outlined by the irrigation commission under Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff. The most important of these undertakings is in the Punjab, where canals along the upper Jhelam and the upper Chenab and in the Lower Bari doab will have a combined length of 2714 miles of main canal and will practically complete the possible development of irrigation in the Punjab. This gigantic undertaking was authorized early in 1905, and will require more than a decade to complete, and will cost more than \$25,000,000. Both as a protection in case of famine and for military purposes, the extension of railroads went on at the rate of a thousand miles a year during Lord Curzon's administration. America has contributed to some extent to this development, especially in the construction of locomotives and of bridges.

The most interesting instance was the construction in 1900 of the Gokteik viaduct. It is eighty miles northeast of Mandalay on

the road to the Shan Hills, and from the bottom of the gorge to the tracks above is 820 feet. The contract was awarded to the Pennsylvania Steel Company, which underbid the English contractors and was the only bidder guaranteeing to complete the work in the time required. J. C. Turk was sent to India as engineer in charge of construction. For ten months (February to December) he and his small force of Americans with their native helpers labored there and the result was the first American bridge in the Indian empire and the greatest viaduct in the world.

In the management of the railroad system of India, Lord Curzon sought to secure unity of direction and control, and so created a railroad board charged with the general supervision of Indian railroads. The reckoning of time was standardized on July 1, 1905, by fixing a uniform time for all India five hours and thirty minutes in advance of Greenwich time, that is, practically Madras time, and six hours and thirty minutes in advance of Greenwich for Burma, that is, practically Rangoon time.

Lord Curzon believed that India possessed enormous resources which might be developed if capital could be obtained. He accordingly sought to secure and diffuse knowledge of the country's resources, and to improve the laws and regulations concerning mining and industry, so as to attract capital, especially from England, for investment. The mining laws were revised and a special government bureau created to deal with mining matters. In December, 1905, a mining institute was authorized. In 1905 one of the members of the governor-general's council was assigned to the department of commerce and industry. The commerce of India has increased with great rapidity. The trade from India to England alone amounted in 1904 to 180,000,000*l.*, more than three times the amount in 1857, the last year under the Company, and nine-fold greater than in 1840. The increase in the railroad mileage has been accompanied by a corresponding improvement of the postal facilities, and by an even greater increase in the amount of mail matter carried. The telegraph system has been expanded with double the rapidity of the railroad system, at the rate of two thousand miles of line a year, so that there were in 1905 61,684 miles of lines, with 227,749 miles of wire. Wireless telegraphy has been introduced, especially for communication with the Andaman Islands.

Since the recovery from the famine in 1900, the financial

1898-1904

conditions have greatly improved, and are now, probably, in the most satisfactory condition that they have been since the crown took control after the Mutiny. No small part of this is due to the successful settlement of the silver question in 1899. Not only have taxes been reduced for the first time in twenty years, but Lord Curzon was able to report to the council in the budget debate of March, 1905, that during the preceding seven years taxes amounting to 13,000,000*l.* had been remitted, and that there is "now no tax in India which could be called burdensome or oppressive." The 1906 budget shows no cessation of the prosperous conditions. Further, the government has not only maintained the necessary currency reserve fund, now amounting to about \$52,000,000, but has also laid by a gold reserve which in 1904 amounted to \$35,000,000.

In considering the budget in 1905 plans were also made to secure elasticity in the collection of the taxes, by establishing rules which should work automatically to relieve the cultivators of the burden of taxation in times of famine or other calamity which destroyed or decreased his ability to pay taxes, instead of waiting for the slow and cumbersome methods which had heretofore obtained.

Results have shown promptly the success of measures intended for the material welfare of India, but efforts no less sincere were made by Lord Curzon to promote the moral and social welfare of the peoples of India, which have not yet had time to show results, and it will be impossible for some time yet to form any judgment on the wisdom and value of these efforts. The whole question of education was canvassed by a commission, and measures affecting every part of the educational system were enacted in 1904. The extension and improvement of primary education was favored, but the financial situation offers a serious hindrance to the development of a satisfactory system of primary education. Higher education received much closer attention, and a Universities Act was passed to harmonize and unify the work of the colleges and universities, and to insure really efficient work in the various institutions. The general oversight of the educational work was placed in the hands of a director general of education. One of the evil tendencies in the educational system was removed by abolishing native competition for the civil service and selecting native civil servants henceforth by a probationary system. The recent demand for improved facilities for

technical education has been felt in India as in other countries, and the government has made some effort to meet the demands.

The investigation of the police system resulted in the passage of a police reform act in March, 1905. The old system was thoroughly discredited, especially because of the bad reputation borne by the old officials. By increasing the pay it was hoped to secure a better class of officials and to remove from them the temptation to corruption. To a considerable extent the bill was apparently reactionary in character, for it sought the revival of the old village community and the imposition of the responsibility for the local peace and order upon the village watchman and the villagers. The need of police reform had long been felt, but it was neglected because of the financial difficulties, for the new system will require an additional expenditure of about \$5,000,000 annually. The change had also been long delayed, because viceroys had hesitated to touch such a difficult and thorny problem.

India has a surplus of laborers, while in some of the colonies of England and other countries there is a demand for cheap labor. An effort has been made to solve the two problems by sending indentured coolies from India to these various colonies. At first some were sent to the French West India colonies, but the arrangement was soon revoked because of a failure on the part of the French employers to comply with the terms of the contract in a reasonable spirit. During the last twenty years the only non-English colony to which coolies have been furnished has been Dutch Guiana, though some coolies do still remain in the French West Indies. The English colonies which have received Indian coolies in recent years have been the Mauritius, Natal, British Guiana, British West Indies, Fiji Islands, British East Africa, and the Seychelles. During the decade from 1892 to 1902 the number of coolie emigrants leaving India was 174,544 and the number returning was 55,059. Since 1899 the annual number of emigrants has been at least thirty per cent. larger than before. The government of India now appoints a protector of emigrants. The indentures or contracts provide for proper protection of the emigrant in every way, for a fair rate of wages, for good quarters and proper medical attendance, and for a free return to India. The government of India supervises these contracts carefully. No doubt there are some things about the system that do not meet the approval of enlightened westerners, but it must be remembered

that the coolie has been accustomed to the Indian standard and conditions of life and not to English or American standards and conditions, and that when compared with these latter standards his condition may be a bad one, but as compared with conditions to which he has been accustomed, he often finds himself better off. At least he is guaranteed shelter, clothing, food, and medical attendance, which he would not be sure of and probably did not have in India, for it is only as a last resort that the extremely conservative Hindu will consent to leave his ancestral home. Some Indians, after completing the terms of their indenture, have remained as permanent settlers in the lands to which they have gone.

Some of the most enlightened natives of India have accepted many of the western ideas and have taken an active interest in the promotion among their people of reforms, especially of a social character, and have undertaken work of charitable or educational sort. All efforts of this kind have received hearty encouragement from the government of India. The native princes of India have been foremost in such activities, and it is worth noting that in December, 1904, at the meeting of the Indian Social Reform Congress, the Gaekwar of Baroda, who visited the United States in May, 1906, advocated the abolition of caste as a necessary step in the social improvement of the people of India. The government has, however, carefully refrained from countenancing any movement of a political sort among the natives, such as the Indian National Congress. This organization has met year by year to discuss Indian problems, but its character has been semi-political, and most of the discussions have been political in character, and their professed aims are to secure political reforms and especially a larger sphere of political activity for natives of India. The government has never interfered with the meetings of the Congress, which serves as a sort of safety valve, but it has withheld all recognition from it. At the close of the meeting in December, 1904, Sir Henry Cotton, formerly chief commissioner of Assam, and a former member of the supreme legislative council of India, who had acted as the president of the Congress, sought an interview with Lord Curzon to present a report of the Congress. The viceroy declined to receive him officially, but offered to receive him personally as a distinguished retired Indian civil servant. The president of the 1905 Congress was Mr. Gokhale of Bombay, one of the native members of the supreme legislative council. The

summary of the political demands of the natives given in his address to the Congress shows the ambitions of the most advanced and independent thinkers among the natives of India to-day.

Without doubt one of the most important services rendered to India by Lord Curzon was the vast improvement which he secured in the status of the native princes of India and in the relations between them and the government of India. He made it his especial duty to cut through the endless mass of correspondence with the princes and to meet them personally and to talk over every question at issue, and to inspire them with his own activity and zeal and high ideals of service to the people of India. Annoying and troublesome questions, which viceroy after viceroy had hesitated to deal with, were taken up, and to the surprise of old Anglo-Indians easily settled to the satisfaction of all parties. In this way the question of the Berars, or ceded districts of Haiderabad, was settled by leaving the regions in dispute henceforth entirely in the hands of the English, while the nizam of Haiderabad received a financial recompense. Holkar of Indore, who had proved himself entirely unable to rule in a way satisfactory to the government of India, was deposed and his heir established in his place, with scarcely a murmur. The maharaja of Kashmir, who had been deprived of some of his independence, was brought into a reasonable mood, and almost the last official act of Lord Curzon was to formally invest him once more with his full independent powers. In order to entertain the native princes properly when they made official visits to the viceroy at Calcutta, Lord Curzon purchased the house formerly occupied by Warren Hastings at Calcutta and set it aside as a palace for visiting princes.

Lord Curzon has said that one hour of talk in dealing with the native princes was worth more than years of formal correspondence. The results fully justified his efforts to get in touch with them and to inspire them with loyalty to the English power in India, and with the same spirit of earnest effort for the advancement of India and the peoples of India which he felt. This is shown in the offers of the princes to aid England in South Africa and China, and on the northwestern frontier; by the presence of native princes at the coronation of King Edward in London and at the coronation darbar at Delhi; but the most splendid testimonial to their appreciation of the work of Lord Curzon was at Indore, the very capital of the prince he had summarily deposed, where sixty-five

1898-1904

princes of central India gathered to meet him and present a farewell address to him as he was on his way to Bombay to leave India in November, 1905. Curzon found the native princes of India useless relics and expensive and troublesome anomalies; he left them the most loyal upholders of the English power and the most faithful colaborers with the English government. It must be said, however, that the subjects of the native princes are not always as loyal as their rulers, for they remember the ancient independence and splendor of the native rule without understanding the changes which time has wrought, other than the loss of full national independence. There is no active disloyalty and not even real discontent with the English rule in India, though there is a group of noisy irreconcilables, just as in every country.

The frontier policy of Lord Curzon as worked out in the creation of the Northwest Frontier Province, and in the withdrawal of English troops from the advanced border posts, and in bringing the border tribesmen into sympathy with the government of India and intrusting them with the guardianship of the frontier, and in enforcing the *pax Britannica* along the border, has proven thoroughly successful. Since the annexation of the Punjab the frontier had never been quiet, and during the administration of Lord Elgin the frontier troubles had cost \$22,500,000, while under Lord Curzon the cost for a longer period was only \$1,250,000. The death of the amir and the succession of his son was watched with the greatest apprehension. The disruption of the amir's dominions or complications with the English or the Russians were dangerous possibilities. The new amir succeeded his father without a noticeable break in the peaceful conditions and maintained his authority among the Afghans and his relations with the English unaltered. Naturally questions had arisen since the Durand Treaty more than a decade before, and to settle these, as well as to renew with the amir the arrangements made with his father, a mission was sent to Kabul under Sir Louis Dane in the latter part of 1904. Several months were spent at Kabul and the reception of the mission was more cordial than that of Sir Henry Durand. In the meantime the amir sent his son, Inayatulla Khan, to visit Calcutta in January, 1905. He was royally welcomed by the viceroy, and every effort made to render the visit of the young prince a memorable one. The treaty signed by the amir and Sir Louis Dane at Kabul on March 21, 1905, is very brief and provides for a full and

complete maintenance of the relations between the English and the amir as under the former agreements with Abdur Rahman. There is absolutely no new provision and no detailed specification in the treaty. This has led to suspicion that the mission was really a failure, but that does not at all follow. The full renewal of the old agreement and the full and confidential discussion of all matters of mutual interest would in themselves render the mission a success, even if England secured no further concessions in Afghanistan. A complete mutual understanding between the government of India and the amir is far more essential than a few miles of telegraph or railroad in Afghanistan. The rumors of any break in the satisfactory relations with the amir are entirely without foundation, as are also the rumors of a Russian mission to Afghanistan, or of a massing of Russian troops on the Afghan frontier during the period of the negotiations. It is true that at present the Russians have in their Trans-Caspian Railways a line paralleling the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and there is a spur running to Kushk on the frontier only a short distance from Herat. The English have their lines in the Punjab and neighboring regions with a railhead at Peshawar at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass, on the road to Kabul; and the line to Quetta has been extended by a tunnel under the old Kojah Pass to Chaman on the Afghan side of the mountains, and only an open plain lies between Chaman and Kandahar. From 1903 to 1905 a commission under the direction of Colonel McMahon was employed in Seistan delimiting and marking the boundary between Persia and Afghanistan and settling the important disputed question of international water rights, which is of great importance, owing to the use of the streams for irrigation. During 1904-1905 a British Indian commercial mission was also employed in Persia. Amir Habibulla has enlarged and improved his army, and introduced a new system of recruiting. Though the amir shows certain progressive tendencies, he must go very slowly in order to maintain his hold upon the suspicious and restless Afghan chiefs.

For the first time in years matters on the northern frontier of India demanded the attention of the government. The southern slopes of the Himalayas are occupied by the independent states of Nepal and Bhutan, which are nominal tributaries of the Chinese empire, and which are on friendly terms with the English. Between these two hill states lies the little country of Sikkim, which

1898-1904

is a semi-independent tributary of both the Chinese and Indian empires. Questions between the empires of India and China concerning this little state are of importance, because the adjoining part of the Chinese empire is the "forbidden land" of Tibet, which by its refusal to have dealings with foreigners was preventing the execution of the terms of the treaties intended to settle the questions which had arisen on the border. The importance of Sikkim is enhanced by the fact that the most practicable route from India to Tibet passes through it over the Himalayas into the Chumbi valley, which is Tibetan territory, and the slight trade between India and Tibet was almost entirely by this route. For the peace of the border and the protection of Sikkim it was important for the government of India to have the questions at issue definitely settled. The dilatory behavior of the Tibetans and the inability of England to enforce the treaty engagements made it obligatory upon the government of India if it wished to maintain its self-respect in dealing with Asiatics to effect a definite settlement and enforce it. The action of England, however, might have been delayed much longer had it not become perfectly clear that Russian agents were at work at Lhasa and that immediate action was necessary to block the Russian schemes, and to prevent a power, whose interests might be other than friendly, from establishing itself in Tibet.

In the spring of 1903, accordingly, Lord Curzon endeavored to arrange for an expedition to Lhasa, but the government in London would sanction nothing of the sort. It was accordingly arranged with the Chinese government that the envoys from India should meet the Tibetan officials at Kamba-jong, fifteen miles beyond the Sikkim frontier in Tibet, and the Chinese promised to cooperate in the negotiations. In July Claude White, the English political officer in Sikkim, and Captain W. F. T. O'Connor, the only white man who could speak Tibetan fluently, established themselves at Kamba-jong, in spite of the official protests of the Tibetans. The natives, however, treated the British officials in the most friendly way, as they did throughout the expedition, except when driven by the lamaist hierarchy to do otherwise. Major Francis Edward Younghusband soon arrived and took charge of this Tibetan mission as political officer. The stay at Kamba-jong was absolutely fruitless so far as negotiations were concerned, for the Tibetans did not send any accredited officials to represent them, and only ordered the British mission to withdraw.

The futility of the situation became apparent to even the government in London, which now grudgingly acquiesced in an advance to Gyantse as the place at which to negotiate, but again with the distinct disclaimer of any intention of going on to Lhasa. It was already too late to hope to reach Gyantse before winter, so it was arranged that at the same time the mission should withdraw from Kamba-jong and that a point on the Jumbi valley route to Gyantse should be occupied, which was as far within the Tibetan border as Kamba-jong. Accordingly, late in December, 1903, Major Young-husband went into winter quarters at Tuna. During the winter stores were accumulated and other arrangements made for an advance in the spring. This was begun on March 26, 1904, when Colonel James Ronald Leslie Macdonald, in command of the military escort of the mission, began the advance from Chumbi, and on the 30th joined the mission at Tuna. The advance from there was begun on the following morning, but it was soon halted by a force of Tibetans who occupied the road at Guru. The English attempted to disarm the Tibetans and to proceed without any fighting, but the Lhasan general fired upon a Sikh, and a general fight ensued, in which the Tibetans, after severe losses, including the Lhasan general, were repulsed. The advance was then continued without opposition to Gyantse, where the mission arrived on April 11 without having lost a man. There the mission established itself at Chang-lo, a short distance from the town, and waited for an opportunity to negotiate.

The presence of a considerable Tibetan force on the road between Lhasa and Gyantse, at a point from which the British line of communication might easily be cut, led to a fight at the Karo-la on May 6, in which Lieutenant Colonel Brander defeated and scattered the Tibetan force. This engagement was probably fought at the highest altitude of any military action on record, 17,000 feet above sea-level. While Colonel Brander was performing this exploit, the Tibetans, at the suggestion of Dorjiev, the Russian agent at Lhasa, made a night attack on the mission at Chang-lo, which was repulsed, and the same time seized Jong, which commanded both Gyantse and Chang-lo. This exploit of May 5 showed that the hope of negotiations at Gyantse was futile and that an advance to Lhasa was inevitable. In the meantime, however, Major Young-husband had to defend himself at Chang-lo until the full military escort, under Colonel Macdonald, should come up. Almost con-

1898-1904

tinuous fighting was kept up, but the mission managed both to maintain its daily mail dispatch and its telegraphic connections, for it had carried a wire along as the advance had been made. Colonel Macdonald with his force arrived on June 26, and after a few days of delay, in renewed attempts at negotiations, the Jong was assaulted and captured on July 6. On July 14 the advance from Gyantse to Lhasa was begun. One event of some importance has to be noted, and that is the arrival in the British camp at the beginning of July of the Tongsa Penlop of Bhutan, who is the actual ruler of that country, as there is at present no Deb raja. His friendship and assistance in dealing with the Tibetans was to prove of no small value.

The hundred and fifty miles from Gyantse to Lhasa were covered without opposition, though the advance was made slowly and the mission did not reach Lhasa till August 3. It was found that Dorjiev had fled in May and that the Dalai Lama had also recently left Lhasa, after having intrusted his seal to a regent, the Ti-Rimpoche. The Nepalese envoy at Lhasa, as well as the Tongsa Penlop of Bhutan, were of valuable assistance as intermediaries, but the real negotiations were all conducted through the Amban, the Chinese official representative in Lhasa. This scrupulous respect for the suzerainty of China was an important factor in the situation, and no doubt conduced to the speedy settlement of terms. The treaty was signed in the Potala, the palace of the Grand Lama, on September 7, 1904.

The treaty provided for the settlement of the boundary difficulties, for the opening of Yatung on the Sikkim frontier, Gyantse, and Gartok in western Tibet to British trade, and for resident British agents at these posts, though not at Lhasa. Other commercial details were regulated. Careful provisions were made to exclude all foreign influence, and to prohibit the granting of telegraph, railroad, mining, and other concessions. An indemnity of about \$2,500,000 for the ill-treatment of the mission was imposed and the Chumbi valley was to be held in pawn until the payment should be completed. The English government had given specific orders that the period should not exceed three years. At the request of the Tibetans the period was extended to seventy-five years. This unauthorized action of Major Younghusband was promptly disavowed by the British authorities. And although the sum demanded represented only about half the cost of the mission, it was further

cut down and the period of three years insisted upon in amendment to the treaty.

To be entirely valid the treaty required the signature of China as suzerain of Tibet. This signature was long delayed, and although a Chinese commissioner spent some time in Calcutta during 1905, nothing was accomplished, and he withdrew nominally on account of his health. The further negotiations were then transferred to Peking, and a dispatch from Shanghai, dated April 23, 1906, announced the signature of the treaty by China; but the report has been denied.

The policy of the expedition must receive some notice. Colonel Macdonald, in command of the escort, demurred at every advance move, insisting that the best thing to do was to get such terms as were possible and to get out of Tibet immediately afterward. Colonel Younghusband, whose knowledge and experience of Oriental character is unrivaled, insisted from the beginning that the only satisfactory conclusion was to dictate terms in Lhasa itself. The government of India, under Lord Curzon and, during his absence in England, under Lord Amptill, was one of full coöperation with Colonel Younghusband. The government in London had as foreign secretary Lord Lansdowne, whose years of service as viceroy should have made him hesitate to sacrifice British interests in the Tibetan question to other phases of England's foreign policy, and have made him refrain from gratuitous guarantees to Russia that England would limit her activities in Tibet to the minimum. The secretary for India was Mr. Brodrick, whose treatment of Indian questions has left much to be desired. His disavowal of the indemnity clause in the treaty and his reprimand of Major Younghusband revealed his absolute ignorance of the conditions of the problem and a woeful lack of appreciation of the value of the major's achievement to the government of India. The knowledge acquired by the expedition confirmed, if that were necessary, the judgment of Lord Curzon that the expedition was essential to the safety of the Indian empire, for the real natural defense of India on this side is not the Himalayas, but the broad extent of desert lying between Lhasa and the Siberian frontier. Furthermore, once it had been decided to take up the question, the handling of it by the government in London deserves nothing but blame. Colonel Younghusband and the men who worked with him, such as Claude White, Mr. Wilton, Captain O'Connor, and others, deserve the

1904-1906

highest praise for an achievement of the most splendid sort. The triumph over all of the physical difficulties, the diplomatic success, and the vast extension of knowledge concerning the "forbidden land" will make the expedition one memorable in the annals of the British in India.

It remains to note that the expedition resulted in discrediting the Dalai Lama entirely. After his flight the political blunders of the Lama were obvious, and the fact that he had persisted in his policy, under the influence of Dorjiev, in spite of the opposition of the Amban and of the lamaist hierarchy, contributed to a feeling of relief at his departure. His life at Urga, whither he fled, made notorious his discreditable immorality. The result was that there was no protest heard, when on September 11, 1904, the Amban at Lhasa solemnly announced the deposition of the Dalai Lama at the order of the emperor of China and the recognition of the Tashi Lama of Shigatse as the spiritual head of lamaism. The visit of Captain O'Connor to the Tashi Lama on his return from Lhasa, and later the visit of the Tashi Lama to India in December, 1905, and January, 1906, to pay his respects to the Prince of Wales, and to make pilgrimage to Buddhist shrines in India, have confirmed the good relations between India and Tibet. The political control of Tibet seems to be really in the hands of the abbots of the three great monasteries at Lhasa, headed by the Ti-Rimpoche, or regent, and their attitude toward all foreigners is one of uncompromising hostility. Their treaty with Colonel Young-husband was grudgingly made by them, and also perhaps largely out of resentment for the pro-Russian policy of the fugitive Dalai Lama. It is fairly obvious that the English can expect little better than indifference from this Lhasan hierarchy, but the people of Tibet, who evidently do not relish the rule of the hierarchy any more than the people of the Papal States did that of the Roman hierarchy in the nineteenth century, always behaved with the greatest friendliness toward the British, and their treatment by the mission cannot help remaining to them a pleasant incentive to friendship. The Dalai Lama seems to have been the center of some intrigues at Urga, and possibly the Chinese have wished to restore him, but at present his existence is a cause of some anxiety to the parties concerned; his demise will be a relief to the situation and it will not be surprising if the Chinese manage to put him out of the way.

Some of the aftermath of the expedition to Lhasa has been important. The mission left Lhasa on September 23 and reached India in October. A small detachment under Major C. H. D. Ryder, and including Captain O'Connor, went to visit the Tashi Lama at Shigatse and then explored the upper course of the Tsang-po or Bramaputra River, and crossed the divide to the headwaters of the Indus and the Sutlej, and finally reached Simla in January, 1905. This expedition thus effected an important extension of geographical knowledge. The Tongsa Penlop of Bhutan was rewarded for his services by receiving knighthood in the Order of the Indian Empire in January, 1905, and the decoration was conferred by Claude White, the political officer in Sikkim, who paid a visit to Panakha, the capital of Bhutan, for that purpose. The friendly relations with these border countries between India and Tibet was shown by the visit of the maharaja of Sikkim and the Tongsa Penlop to Calcutta to pay their respects to the Prince of Wales in January, 1906, in company with the Tashi Lama.

As already noted, Lord Curzon was absent from India during the crisis in the Tibetan negotiations. His term expired and he left India on April 30, 1904, and was appointed lord warden of the Cinque Ports and took up his residence at Walmer Castle upon his arrival in England. It was finally decided to reappoint him, but his return to India was for some weeks delayed by the serious illness of Lady Curzon. As soon as her convalescence warranted the viceroy set out alone for India, where he arrived on December 13. During his absence the acting governor-general was Arthur Villiers Russell, Baron Ampthill, the governor of Madras, who acquitted himself of the difficult task to the full satisfaction of all parties.

Serious problems faced Lord Curzon upon his return, in addition to his various measures of reform which he was constantly endeavoring to initiate. One of the most difficult of these was the Bengal question. In 1874 Bengal had become too large to be administered as a single unit, and certain districts were set off as the chief commissionership of Assam. This measure, which caused an outcry at the time, thoroughly justified itself. It soon became apparent that the problem had only been touched instead of being definitely solved. Successive lieutenant-governors continued to find the burden of administering the province of Bengal not only too heavy, but an increasingly heavy burden. Certain conditions pointed to the extension of Assam to include the eastern districts

1905-1906

of Bengal as the best solution of the matter. After being under official consideration for many months the decision was finally announced in the summer of 1905, and on October 16 the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam came officially into existence. It embraces, in addition to the native states of Manipur and Hill Tipperah, which lie within its borders, the former province of Assam and the Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshahi divisions of Bengal. Its capital is located at Dacca. The administration is under a lieutenant-governor with a legislative council and board of revenue, though the jurisdiction of the high court of Calcutta is to continue to extend over the new province. The chief commissioner of Assam, J. B. Fuller, became lieutenant-governor of the enlarged province. At the same time certain rectifications of the southwestern boundary of Bengal were also effected by the transfer of certain hill states from Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces in exchange for Sambalpur, which was included in Bengal, because the language of the district made its administration by the Central Provinces difficult, while in Bengal it was a simple matter, as the language was the same as that of Orissa. The new province will contain a population of about 31,000,000, of whom 18,000,000 are Mohammedans and 12,000,000 are Hindus, thus according some recognition to the predominance of Mohammedans in the eastern districts, where they had been an overlooked minority in the old province.

The diminished province of Lower Bengal now has about 54,000,000 population, of whom 42,000,000 are Hindus and 9,000,000 Mohammedans. It should be noted that there is no racial or linguistic differentiation between the two provinces, and this gave rise to a loud outburst of Bengali patriotism against the partition of their country. There was as little reason for this outcry as there would be for patriotic objections to the division of an American county for administrative convenience. In fact, events showed that a large part of the outcry was due to interested parties in Calcutta, who had profited by the diversion of the trade of the eastern districts to Calcutta, which would more naturally have passed to Chittagong, and they now feared that the creation of the new province would result in the revival of the trade of Chittagong at the expense of Calcutta. To this it is only necessary to reply that Chittagong is as good a harbor as Calcutta, if not a better one, and that it is the natural outlet of the new

province, and that if Calcutta had profited by the trade in the past, she was now only losing what she had unfairly enjoyed. To the people of the new province the change cannot prove otherwise than a blessing, for it will insure them a careful oversight from the administration in place of the unavoidable neglect of the past, and it will no doubt result in the revival of Dacca and Chittagong to at least their old-time importance. While there may be some falling off in the trade of Calcutta, it is probable that the result will in other matters be entirely to the advantage of the diminished province as well.

The agitation of the Bengalis over the partition has been the most notable manifestation yet witnessed of political activity on the part of the natives, and especially of the educated natives of India. The Indian National Congress has been more or less academic in character, but here was a practical question, and the Bengalis made an effort to have the Congress take it up in an effective way. For some time there had been on the part of the government an effort to encourage native industry, which had been taken up with some vigor by the natives. The Bengalis seized upon this as an easy tool for their purpose, and the swadeshi or "own country things" movement was turned into a popular agitation against English goods. The result was serious loss to merchants dealing in English goods, while the merchants handling native goods profited largely and unexpectedly. In December, 1905, the Bengalis were active at the session of the Indian National Congress, and a resolution against the so-called partition of Bengal was carried, and another in favor of the use of native goods; but the Bengali effort to combine the two into a political boycott of English goods was defeated. Lord Curzon and other officials also broke the power of the movement by constantly announcing their belief in swadeshi in so far as it meant a use of native goods and an encouragement of native industry, but they denounced it when perverted into a boycott of English goods.

A gratuitous reference to the question in the dispatch of Brodrick on Lord Curzon's resignation gave new zeal to the agitators, but the new viceroy, Lord Minto, and the new secretary of state for India, John Morley, have upheld Lord Curzon's measure, and it is now in operation, with the full support of all the authorities.

Unfortunately for Lord Curzon, and for India, his second term was destined to come to an early end under conditions of the most

1905-1906

regrettable sort. Lord Curzon had always given his full support to every effort to improve England's position in India, and that included the condition of the army and the question of the military defense of India. The commander-in-chief since 1902 was Horatio Herbert Kitchener, the ablest of the younger generals in the English army.

Lord Kitchener was born in County Kerry, Ireland, in 1850, and was educated at Woolwich. He entered the Royal Engineers in 1871. He served on the Palestine Survey from 1874 to 1878, and on the Cyprus Survey from 1878 to 1882. He served in Egypt from 1882 to 1899, being sirdar of the Egyptian army from 1890 to 1899. He was chief of staff to Lord Roberts in South Africa from 1899 to 1900, and succeeded Lord Roberts as commander-in-chief in South Africa from 1900 to 1902. Since 1902 he has been commander-in-chief in India. He was knighted in 1894 and created Baron Kitchener of Khartoum in 1898, and Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum in 1902. He is a man of strong personality, and a military man in the fullest sense of the term. Administrative delays annoyed him in his handling of army questions, and apparently the secretariat of the military department took no pains to secure prompt action. Apparently, also, General Sir Edmond Elles, the military member of the governor-general's council, and therefore the head of the military department, was not inclined to modify his own or the departmental policy, and act at the dictation of General Kitchener. Brodrick, the secretary of state for India, was pitifully incompetent to deal with two such brilliant and able subordinates as Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener in such a way as to harmonize their relations and to retain the services of both for the empire.

The question of army administration seems to have been a subject of prolonged discussion between the viceroy, the commander-in-chief, and the secretary of state, and Lord Curzon returned to India after discussion of the question with the authorities in London, so that he felt that in permitting him to return to India as viceroy, they agreed with and would support his views. This did not prove to be the case, and in June, 1905, the secretary of state published a blue book of the correspondence, together with the arrangement, to which he now gave his sanction. This was a compromise, but one so clearly in favor of the commander-in-chief that General Elles at once resigned as military member of council.

The details of the plan were indefinite, and after further correspondence Lord Curzon felt that the statements of the secretary of state were so sufficiently in accord with his ideas that he could accept the plan. That this was a misunderstanding at once became clear when Lord Curzon suggested General Sir Edmund George Barrow as the new military supply member of his council. This proposal was at once negatived by Brodrick, and after an interchange of telegrams, Lord Curzon, who was then on a sick bed, telegraphed his resignation on August 12, 1905. A few days later the news of the resignation and its acceptance was published, and the appointment of Lord Minto to succeed as viceroy was announced.

Under the old system the commander-in-chief was an extraordinary member of the governor-general's council, but not the head of an administrative department. The military member of council occupied a position as head of the military administration department corresponding to the American secretary of war, but his relations to the commander-in-chief were made much more delicate by the fact that he was a ranking subordinate of the commander-in-chief, and in recent years had been selected from the higher ranks, and so was a man who, in case of war, might be called to assume important command. His position was not only that of a secretary of war, but also of a general of high rank in the army and the expert military adviser of the governor-general. Obviously, unless the military member were in absolute accord with the commander-in-chief, the latter would find the situation annoying and irksome. This fact, plus the soldier's hatred of red tape, will explain the reason for Lord Kitchener's attitude. Lord Curzon, on the other side, supported by the members of the council, felt the political and constitutional difficulties. There must be one, and only one, responsible head, and obviously that must be the viceroy, and not the commander-in-chief. Therefore, the viceroy must have advice on military matters from other qualified individuals besides the commander-in-chief, so that he might act wisely concerning them, not only from the point of view of army organization and methods, but also as concerned the matters of finance and the general adjustment of the army to the rest of the state administration. Naturally the viceroy wished to retain the military member of council as his war minister. In the same way the commander-in-chief felt that the union in his person of the

1905-1906

duties of his own position and that of the military member would redound to the advantage of the army in giving a completely unified control.

The secretary of state for India naturally and rightly attempted a compromise, but bungled the affair and showed a conspicuous lack of tact. As finally worked out, the present arrangement makes the commander-in-chief a regular member of council and the head of what is called the army department, with a secretarial staff exactly corresponding to the other administrative departments; and various functions formerly belonging to the military member and his department are transferred to the commander-in-chief and the army department. Instead of the military member with his department there is now a military supply member, the head of the department of military supply, with the usual secretarial staff. As the name indicates, the military supply member and his department retain only a small part of the functions formerly pertaining to the military member, but the viceroy distinctly reserved the privilege of requiring general military advice of the military supply member. No doubt Lord Kitchener would have wished to make the position of military supply member a civilian's post, and to have had the organization of his own department more under his direct and sole control than will be possible with its organization on the same basis as the other departments. It is not likely that Lord Kitchener will find the new viceroy less careful of his full constitutional privileges than Lord Curzon, though in a different way. Because the liberals, when out of power, had attacked Brodrick's handling of the situation, it was expected by some that the new liberal secretary of state for India, Morley, would abandon Brodrick's scheme, but he has not done so, and has only sought to secure some slight readjustments in the settling of details which had not already been arranged. Morley's speech on the subject in parliament showed no sympathy for Lord Curzon or his administration, and Lord Curzon replied by a letter in the *London Times* declaring the new army administrative system, even after the adjustments made by Morley, unworkable, and fraught with serious danger to India.

The whole affair was a regrettable incident, and neither Lord Curzon nor Lord Kitchener behaved with complete poise and tact in the matter. The dispute between the two chief officers of the Indian empire was in itself a sorry spectacle to present to the people

of India, and the blunder of publishing the dispatches with all of their recriminations was inexcusable. It seems clear that some reforms, in the direction actually taken, were needed for the good of the service; and the pity is that they could not have been secured and at the same time the splendid abilities of both Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener retained for the empire. In view of the outcome, it is a matter for regret that Lord Curzon returned to India for a second term, for the added months in India were marked by the unpopular but necessary partition of Bengal, which might almost be compared with Lord Dalhousie's annexation of Oudh, and by the scandal of the army quarrel. For the present, at least, these two events seriously dim the splendor of the great achievements of his first term as viceroy. No viceroy ever strove with greater zeal to serve India, and none ever had a fuller understanding of India's needs. In tactfulness he was deficient, and his frankness of speech at times amounted to indiscretion. He was not a popular viceroy, though the army quarrel did result in a certain revulsion of feeling in his favor, but the value of much of his work has been recognized by all. Since his resignation it has been the wont of writers to call him the greatest viceroy since Dalhousie. It does seem that he is to be reckoned among the very limited number of India's greatest rulers. Many years must elapse before a full and fair judgment upon the man and his work will be possible, for at present it is impossible not only to get the necessary perspective, but even to obtain full and accurate knowledge of some of the most important events of his administration. It is not likely that time will set aside his own judgment of his work as "not of aggression, but of consolidation and restraint. It is enough for me to guard what we have without hankering for more."

During Lord Curzon's administration occurred a group of events fraught with the greatest importance to the position of the British in India. In India were the frightful disasters of plague and famine; in England occurred the death of the queen, and within the empire the South African war; abroad the death of the amir, the Boxer rising in China, and the Russo-Japanese war were events of the deepest significance for India. Such was the combination of these events, that at several times during the administration of Lord Curzon, the natives of India, had they desired to rebel, would have found England in a position of the greatest



THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERTAINED BY THE MAHARAJAH OF GWALIOR WHILE IN INDIA
Painting by B. Vereshchagin

1905-1906

embarrassment and difficulty. Not only was there no sign of disloyalty, but numerous uncalled-for and unmistakable manifestations of loyalty to the British government in India. The behavior of India, therefore, during the administration of Lord Curzon may be taken as the best answer concerning the attitude of the natives of India toward the rule of the British, and as to the security of English rule in the great peninsula.

It was exceedingly fortunate that the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to India had been arranged for the cool season of 1905-1906, for it came just at a time when something was needed to divert the minds of all, and especially the natives, from the regrettable incident of the army quarrel. The prince and princess arrived at Bombay on board the *Renown* on November 9, 1905, the anniversary of the king's birth. The privilege of welcoming them was accorded to Lord Curzon as his last function in India. A few days later, on November 18, Lord Minto, the new viceroy, arrived, and Lord Curzon introduced him to the people of India as "a viceroy of ripe experience, strong sense of duty, sound judgment, and great personal charm." On the same day Lord Curzon embarked from Bombay for England. Gilbert John Murray Kynynmound Elliot is a descendant of the first earl of Minto, who was governor-general of India from 1807 to 1813, and was born in 1847, and succeeded as fourth earl of Minto in 1891. He was educated at Eaton and Cambridge. He served in the Turkish army in 1877 and in the Afghan war in 1879. He was secretary to Lord Roberts in South Africa in 1881, and served in Egypt in 1882. He was military secretary to Lord Lansdowne in Canada from 1883 to 1885, and was governor-general of Canada from 1898 to 1904.

During their tour, extending from their arrival at Bombay on November 9, 1905, to their departure from Karachi on March 19, 1906, the Prince of Wales and his wife were welcomed everywhere in the most royal manner, and their tour was a source of gratification to themselves, to the people of India, and to the British government. The wide experience of Sir Walter Lawrence as private secretary for Lord Curzon fitted him admirably for the duty of attending upon the prince during the tour. The importance of Lord Curzon's policy in dealing with the native princes was emphasized by the prolonged visits made to all of the most important of the native rulers. Every section of the empire

was visited. Mysore, in the extreme south, and Darjiling and Simla in the foothills of the Himalayas, Mandalay in Burma, and Jammu in Kashmir, Landi Kotal on the farther side of the Khaibar Pass, and Quetta in Baluchistan show that the visit extended to the farthest borders of the empire. This not only illustrated the extension and increased security of the empire, but also the vast extension of the railroad systems since the visit of the prince's father exactly thirty years before. The demonstrations of loyalty which greeted the prince were a touching testimonial of the native appreciation of the British rule, and a pleasant augury for the administration of the new viceroy, who has thus far shown himself a worthy occupant of the most splendid and powerful office to which a subject may aspire.

HISTORY OF PERSIA

By W. Harold Claffin, B. A.

Department of History, Harvard University

HISTORY OF PERSIA

Chapter I

THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY. 218-643 A. D.

THERE are but few nations of the earth which can match the boast of Persia: that despite an unexampled series of conquests and subjugations she has as a nation played a great part in world history in ancient, in mediæval, and in modern times. In ancient times she stands forth, first among the great conquering nations, next as the only power able to cope with the Roman colossus. In mediæval times she became the mistress of the intellectual world, the paradise of poetry, the literary center and dispenser of light for all the East. In modern times she appears again as a great political state courted by Europe, influencing the Asiatic expansion of European powers, splitting the Mohammedan world by her secession from the orthodox faith. And finally, after producing the last of the great series of Asiatic conquerors whose exploits and whose spoils revive for us the marvels of the Arabian Nights, she sinks rapidly into decay, and like many another Asiatic power, falls an easy prey before the more scientific civilization of modern Europe.

Persia, or Iran, was divided by the ancients into three parts: the coast, the mountain, and the plain. This description holds good for the modern Persia of the shahs, which, clipped of many provinces as it is, still corresponds in the main to the empires of former times. The coast region lying along the Persian Gulf forms a low, narrow, unhealthy strip cut off to the north by a mountain wall which approaches at times to within a mile of the sea and again recedes to a distance of twenty miles. This region, arid and intensely hot, bears a strong resemblance to the opposite coast of Arabia and indeed is chiefly peopled by Arabs. Back of the mountain wall, which is penetrated here and there by difficult passes—the caravan routes to the interior—lies a mountainous region diversified in parts by lovely valleys and broad plains. This is Persia proper, the cradle of the race and the center of the ancient

empire. Here lie the ruins of the ancient cities—Persepolis, Susa, Pasagardæ. Here is the famous Vale of Shiraz, famed in all the East for its wine and roses. But on the whole the region is desolate and in parts scarcely habitable. Back of this hilly country lies the great plateau of Iran, stretching from the fertile Tigris Valley on the west to the mountains of Afghanistan on the east, and northward to the Caspian and the River Oxus. This vast and lofty plateau, traversed in part by lofty mountain ranges, is in general desolate and barren, unwatered save for springs and subterranean channels. To the west lie the grain lands of ancient Media and the mountainous territory of the Karduchi, the modern Kurdistan; to the east, cut off by sandy deserts and salt marshes, lies the great province of Khurasan, fertile and well-wooded. To the north the huge bulk of the Elburz Mountains, culminating in lofty Demavend, the sacred mountain of Iran, and the still more famous Ararat, cuts off the plateau from the Caspian. The well-wooded valleys of the Elburz, watered by rushing mountain streams, are among the most picturesque and delightful spots in the country. On the whole, however, the plateau of Iran is a bleak and scanty region, suffering from extremes of heat and cold, but still the birthplace of a strong and virile race.

The native Persian of to-day has, after centuries of oppression and constant mixture with foreign races, sadly degenerated from his prototype of Achæmenian or Sassanian times. The Tajiks, as they are called, form the bulk of the settled population, and are merchants and agriculturists. Centuries of gross misrule have destroyed their ancient manliness and independence and made of them a servile, cunning, and even dishonest race. Strangely enough the finest of the native Persians to-day are found among the Guebres or Fire Worshipers, who have clung to the ancient faith of Iran despite twelve hundred years of persecution. The ruling race to-day, and the most virile, is the Turkoman—largely formed of nomad tribes who are still distinguished for their marauding habits.

The first period of Persian history closed with the conquest of the Achæmenian kingdom by Alexander the Great in 323 B. C. It had been the idea of Alexander to fuse the Greeks and the Persians and to establish himself at the head of a Perso-Hellenic state with its capital at Babylon. But this magnificent dream died with the conqueror and his successors were content to play the ordinary

218 A. D.

role of conquerors, surrounding themselves with Greek mercenaries and intrusting the government of the provinces to Greek satraps. The Persians were treated as slaves, their religion insulted and their temples plundered. The Seleucid rule was not, however, of long duration in Persia. About 250 B. C. the Parthians, a barbarous and warlike people of Turanian stock inhabiting the region southeast of the Caspian, threw off the Greek rule under their king, Arsaces, and founded an independent state. About 163 B. C. the great Parthian king Mithradates overran Persia, Media, and Babylonia and established on the ruins of Seleucid power an empire which lasted four centuries and was the first to check the expansion of the Mistress of the World.

Under the Parthian kings the state of the subject peoples of Iran was somewhat improved. The Arsacide monarchs began at least by conforming to the national religion, while the provinces were ruled by native sub-kings who were permitted to do very much as they pleased so long as they paid an annual tribute and sent the required military levies to the king of kings at Ctesiphon. And so, under native princes, themselves often of the priestly order, the national religion and the traditions of former greatness were preserved in Persia through the long centuries of foreign domination.

The Parthian empire after a remarkable career finally went the way of most eastern dynasties. Under a series of incapable and luxurious kings the Romans conquered province after province while the empire was torn by civil wars and local uprisings. The last Parthian king, Artabanes, did much to revive the prestige of the empire by his great victory over the Romans at Nineveh, but even he was unable to check the process of disintegration. It was natural under these circumstances that Persia should seek to revive her ancient independence. A leader was found in Ardashir, or Artaxerxes, said by tradition to be of lowly birth, but more probably, to judge from his inscriptions, the sub-king of Persia. Rising in sudden revolt Ardashir rapidly conquered all Susiana, Persia, and Kirman, and when Artabanes, aroused to the situation, finally took the field he was defeated and slain in battle on the plain of Hormuz, 218 A. D.

This victory gave to Ardashir the dominion of the East. The remaining Parthian provinces were quickly conquered, and the new Persian empire soon extended from the Tigris to the borders of Afghanistan. Not content with these successes Ardashir

dreamed of restoring the boundaries of the empire of Xerxes and of expelling the Romans from all Asia. A short contest convinced him of the futility of his plans and he contented himself with the conquest of Armenia, where reigned a king of the Arsacide dynasty.

The great work of Ardashir's later years was the restoration of the old national religion throughout Iran. The religion given to the Persians by Zoroaster had soon been corrupted from a pure monotheism into a dualism wherein two equal and independent principles Ahura Mazda (Ormazd) the principle of good, and Angro Mainyus (Ahriman) the principle of evil, are represented in eternal contention. To this belief was later added the worship of the elements—fire, air, earth, water—and the introduction of new divinities, Mithra, the sun god, and Anaitis, the Babylonian goddess of love. To remove the corruptions which had crept in under Parthian rule and so to restore the former purity of worship Ardashir ordered a collection of the precepts of Zoroaster in one volume. The work was intrusted to ten priests chosen from an assembly of forty thousand of the Magi and the result was the *Zend-Avesta*, the authorized bible of Zoroastrianism.

The dynasty of the Sassanidæ, so called from Sassan, the grandfather of Ardashir, ruled over Persia for more than four centuries and raised the empire to a height of glory and prosperity not surpassed by that of the Achæmenians. The external history of the period is marked by an almost continual struggle between Persia as heir of the Parthians, and Rome the heir of the Greeks. The contest of centuries, waged for the possession of the border provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, brought no lasting advantage to either side, but so exhausted the rivals that in the end they both fell an easy prey to the young and vigorous power of the Mohammedans. As in most oriental dynasties, so in the Sassanian, the personal equation is the chief factor in the progress of the nation. Under able kings Persia reached the heights of strength and prosperity; under weak ones she quickly fell into depths of weakness and disorder. Here we can glance at only a few of the great figures which made the Sassanian dynasty one of the most notable in the history of Asia.

Ardashir was succeeded in 240 by his son Shahpur or Sapor (the King's Son). The reign of Shahpur is distinguished for his wars with the Roman empire. In the first of these the Persians,

258-272 A. D.

taking advantage of the supposed weakness of the young emperor, Gordian, captured the powerful fortress of Nisibis, overran Syria and surprised the great city of Antioch, the Roman metropolis of the East. Gordian, however, showed unexpected energy, routed the Persians in numerous battles and only his murder saved Persia from a counter invasion. The second war with Rome was, like the first, provoked by Shahpur, but its outcome was very different. Antioch was again sacked by a Persian army and the Emperor Valerian defeated and taken prisoner to drag out a miserable existence as slave of the king of kings—the first Roman emperor to fall into barbarian hands. After ravaging Syria and Cappadocia



Shahpur returned in triumph with a vast booty to Ctesiphon, but his glory was somewhat dimmed by the defeat of part of the army at the hands of Odenatus, prince of Palmyra, whose overtures had been haughtily rejected by the Persian.

The rest of the reign of Shahpur was generally peaceful. The king devoted his energies to the building of a new capital to be called by his name, and to putting down the Manichean heresy, a strange mixture of Persian and Christian beliefs which also troubled eastern Christendom for two centuries and found echoes in western Europe during the Middle Ages. Shahpur was undoubtedly

one of the most remarkable of the Sassanidæ, not only as a warrior, but as a statesman and as an administrator.

The first two Sassanian princes were men of exceptional ability. With their successors the rapid degeneration so noticeable in oriental dynasties set in. Armenia became independent once more and the great Roman emperor, Diocletian, forced Persia to cede him five of her best provinces. With Shahpur II. who, proclaimed king of kings at his birth, reigned for seventy years, 309,-379, a new era of prosperity began. On the death of the Emperor Constantine, Shahpur declared war on his weak successor, and after inflicting on the Romans their worst defeat since the time of Crassus, laid siege to the fortress of Nisibis. But the valor of the bishop, St. James, saved the city and Shahpur was recalled to the east by an invasion of the Massagetæ, a Tatar tribe of central Asia. A new war with Rome brought a formidable invasion of Persia by the Emperor Julian the Apostate, who entered Mesopotamia and advanced to the Persian capital Ctesiphon. His death in the battle of Samrah, 363, freed Shahpur from a most formidable enemy and enabled him to force the Romans into a treaty by which all their recent conquests as well as Armenia and Nisibis were surrendered to the Persians. Thus the reign of Shahpur left Persia in the highest position she had occupied since the days of the Achæmenides. Shahpur well deserves his title of the Great and was with one exception the ablest of the Sassanian rulers.

The following century of Persian history is marked by no great rulers. Its chief events were the wars with the Ephthaltes or "White Huns," a Turkish tribe who at one time forced the Persians to pay them tribute, and the attempts of the Persian kings to convert Armenia to Zoroastrianism. The Armenians had been among the earliest converts to Christianity, as they have been among its steadiest adherents. As between Rome and Persia their sympathies naturally inclined through ties of religion to the former and in the reign of Theodosius a large part of Armenia had definitely been attached to the Roman empire.

The attempt to root out Christianity in that part of the country which the Persians still held led to a national uprising headed by the patriots, Vartan and Valian, which finally forced the Persians to make peace and permit the complete restoration of the Christian Church. The result was that Persarmenia from being



531-579 A. D.

a constant source of weakness to Persia now became under a rule of toleration one of her pillars of strength.

The reign of Shah Khusru or Chosroes, surnamed Anushirwan, 531-579, raised the Sassanian empire to its pinnacle of glory. The Persian army was carried into regions whither no eastern conqueror had yet penetrated, while better still the internal condition of the empire was prosperous as never before. Khusru inherited from his predecessor, Kobad, a Roman war which the genius of the great Belisarius, the ablest general of his age, had already rendered disastrous to the Persians. The first care of Shah Khusru was to make peace with the empire, though the rapid advance in the power of Justinian could not fail to cause him anxiety. While Belisarius was engaged in conquering Africa and Italy for his master, embassies came to the Persian court from the Goths and Armenians begging him to come to their succor before Justinian had attained his aim of universal empire. Khusru by this time needed little persuasion and in 543 crossed the Euphrates with a vast army, invaded Syria and appeared under the walls of Antioch, which had not seen a Persian army for three centuries. The "Queen of the East," then at the height of its splendor, fell after a short resistance and Khusru gave its churches and palaces up to pillage and to the flames. Then after visiting the coast of the Mediterranean and holding chariot races at Antioch he returned leisurely to Ctesiphon bearing an enormous booty. A renewal of the contest, however, resulted less favorably to the Persians, and Khusru was obliged to cede the province of Lazica on the Black Sea to the Romans, 562 A. D.

Finally freed on the side of Rome, Khusru turned his attention to Arabia, where the Christian Abyssinians had invaded and conquered the rich province of Yemen on the Red Sea. Encouraged by fugitive Arabs who reached his court Khusru dispatched an expedition by sea from the Persian Gulf to Aden, the natives rose in revolt, and the Abyssinians were driven back across the sea. Yemen from an Abyssinian became a Persian dependency with a Persian general as king. In 572 another war broke out on the Roman frontier. Khusru took the field in person with 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot and took the fortress of Daras, the key to Syria and Asia Minor. The war was still in progress when the great king died, 579, after a reign of forty-eight years.

Khusru Anushirwan was as great in peace as in war. He re-

formed the administration of the empire, dividing it into four great governments intrusted to faithful servants who watched over the satraps of the provinces. The great king himself made frequent progresses through his dominions to watch over the administration of justice and to punish dishonest officials. He reformed the system of taxation substituting land and property taxes for the old oppressive tithes or payments in kind. To prevent extortion he placed the supervision of the collection of the revenues in the hands of the Magian priesthood. The army was reorganized and fixed wages established, the king himself as general-in-chief receiving 4001 dirhems, one dirhem (twelve cents) more than any of his generals. Much attention was given to the encouragement of agriculture by the building of canals and irrigation ditches, while to increase the population marriage was made compulsory. Khusru was also a patron of learning. He gave refuge to many Greek sages driven by persecution from the dominions of Justinian and in his reign the annals of the kingdom were collected, forming the basis for the later Shah-nameh of Ferdousi. A university was founded at Susa where medicine, philisophy, rhetoric, and astronomy were taught. In many ways Khusru was a man far in advance of his time. Though his power was unlimited and his rule severe, he was by no means a tyrant. He permitted freedom of worship to all religions, and we learn from the anecdotes told of him that his respect for individual rights, whether of rich or poor, was of the highest. On the whole the greatest and best of the Sassanian kings, perhaps the greatest in all Persian history, he amply deserved the simple yet glorious title of "the Just."

The usual temporary collapse followed the death of Khusru, but the empire was again united by the accession of Khusru II., surnamed Parviz, "the Generous," 591-628, who gained his throne from the usurper Bahram with the aid of the Romans. The reign of the second Khusru was the most remarkable in Sassanian annals, marking as it does the extremes of elevation and depression in Persian power. The whole reign of Khusru is the history of one continuous war with the Roman empire of the East.

After the murder of his friend and ally, Maurice, in 603, Khusru declared war on the weak tyrant, Phocas, and during the period of disorder which afflicted the empire overran and conquered in a few years all Syria and Asia Minor. Aided by a revolt of the Jews, Damascus and Jerusalem were taken in 615 and the in-

615-633 A. D.

habitants massacred. The next year the Persian general, Shahr Barz, conquered Egypt which had not seen a foreign invader since the days of Julius Cæsar. Meantime another Persian army advanced through Asia Minor and appeared at Chalcedon on the Bosphorus opposite Constantinople. Thus in fifteen years the Romans had lost all their Asiatic and east African territories held for six centuries against Parthian and Persian. The new emperor, Heraclius, reduced to his capital, took the desperate resolve of leaving Constantinople to its fate and carrying the war into the enemy's country. Embarking his army in a great fleet he crossed the Black Sea to Trebizond and thence invaded Armenia with 120,000 men, everywhere defeating the Persians and putting Khusru himself to flight. The next year he landed again on the Black Sea coast and marched straight across Asia Minor to Cicilia, defeating on the way Shahr Barz, the best of the Persian generals. In 625 the Persians persuaded the Bulgarians and Avars to make with them a combined attack on Constantinople. But the Greek fleet patrolling the Bosphorus held the allies apart and the northern hordes could make no impression on the fortifications of the city.

In 627 Heraclius again took the field and advanced from Armenia into the heart of the Persian empire. Khusru was defeated in the great battle of Nineveh and his capital of Dastaghard fell into the hands of the Romans. The shah fled to Ctesiphon, where he perished in a palace revolution after witnessing the loss of all his conquests and the devastation of his own provinces, 628 A. D. His death was the signal for the close of the terrible struggle which had ravaged western Asia for twenty-four years. By the treaty of peace the boundaries between the two empires were restored as they had existed before the war, so that the contest had no further result than the complete exhaustion of both sides. The usual confusion followed the fall of Khusru till in 632 the nobles raised to the throne Yezdigerd III., the last of the Sassanidæ.

While the two great empires of the East had been locked in a death struggle for supremacy, the prophet Mohammed had been preaching the One God to the pagan tribes of Arabia, and uniting them by persuasion or force under the banner of the new faith. Mohammed had begun his mission about the year 614 A. D. By the time of his death, in the same year that Yezdigerd mounted the Persian throne, all Arabia had been converted to Islam (literally the Sur-

render to God), and the Arabs were prepared to carry their proselytizing zeal to the surrounding nations. With the succession to the kalifate of Abu Bekr, the father-in-law of Mohammed, began the wonderful career of Arab conquest. In 633 the Arabs led by Khalid, the Sword of God, overran the Persian provinces to the west of the Euphrates. But in the following year the Persians reconquered the region and drove the Arabs back into the desert. When Kalif Omar heard the news he cried, "I swear by the Lord that I will smite down the proud princes of Persia with the sword of the princes of Arabia." A call to arms was sent through all Arabia and Sa'd ibn Walik, known as the Ravening Lion, with 30,000 men marched to Kadesia on the edge of the Syrian desert. Thence messengers were sent to Yezdigerd urging him to embrace Islam. It is said that the Persian in scorn ordered a clod of earth to be brought and given to the Arabs, who received it gladly as an omen of the conquest of Persia.

The Persian host of 120,000 men with 30 war elephants, led by Rustam, the best of the Persian generals, advanced to meet the Arab army which was drawn up under the walls of Kadesia. The first day's battle favored the Persians, whose war elephants spread terror in the Arab ranks. But the Arabs received reinforcements during the night (whence the name "the night of succors"), and now more accustomed to the elephants, renewed the combat. After three days more of desperate fighting Rustam was slain and the Persian host put to flight.

Kadesia was the beginning of the end for the Persian monarchy. In the following year Sa'd with 60,000 men captured Ctesiphon, the magnificent capital of Persia, with a booty so enormous that even the Arab historian is at a loss to describe it. The spoil is said to have reached 900,000,000 dirhems (\$108,000,000), so that each of the soldiers received as his share 1200 pieces of silver. Among the treasures found in the royal palace was a great carpet of white brocade, 450 feet long and 90 feet broad, with a border worked in precious stones to represent a garden of flowers, the leaves formed of emeralds, the blossoms of rubies, sapphires, and pearls.

All Mesopotamia and Irak was now in the hands of the Arabs who, at the command of Omar, halted for a time and consolidated their conquest by founding the cities of Bussorah and Kufa. In 641, after the conquest of Syria was complete, the tide turned east-

641-643 A. D.

ward once more. Yezdigerd had collected an enormous army for a final effort to save his throne. But the Persian host was almost annihilated in the decisive battle of Nehavend, "the Victory of Victories"—and with Nehavend the whole Persian empire fell before the Mohammedan conquerors. Here and there isolated stands were made by local chieftains, but all organized resistance was at an end. The unhappy Yezdigerd fled to Merv and maintained for ten years a fugitive existence, ever seeking help to recover his throne, only to perish obscurely in a miller's hut in 652 A. D.

The Sassanian period was one of the most glorious in Persian history. The power and magnificence of the kings is attested even by the few remains which have survived the centuries since their time—such as the palaces of Ctesiphon, Firzabad, and Mashita. The architecture of the period, without losing the majesty of that of earlier times, had gained in variety of expression and in richness of detail. The sculptures of Sassanian times, used to describe both religious ceremonies and exploits of the kings, show such remarkable skill and vigor that many have declared them to be the work of Greek and Roman artists in Persian service. But though Greek and even Hindu influence is evident in the remains, still, on the whole, the art of the period was thoroughly national. Centuries of decay and ravages scarcely equaled in history have left few records of the splendor of the Sassanians, but such as they are they bear witness to a time of great artistic activity. Of the palace of Ctesiphon nothing remains save a majestic arch or portal, 85 feet in height, and 72 in breadth, which is in itself sufficient to convince us that this was the most magnificent of Sassanian palaces. The palace of Mashita, built by Khusru II. in the land of Moab, gives a better idea of the work of the Sassanian kings. It was built in the form of a square, 730 feet on a side, the walls strengthened by semicircular towers, the interior a succession of vaulted chambers and spacious courts culminating in a great central hall which was surmounted by a vast dome. The chief *façade*, 200 feet long, is notable for its decorations of sculptured diaper work in stone—a bewildering maze of vines and foliage combined with birds and animals. For richness and delicacy this example of Sassanian sculpture is unsurpassed in the work of any other age or clime.

The Persia of Sassanian times was essentially a land of city

folk. In districts now deserted save for wandering nomads once stood great cities such as Susa, Ctesiphon, Seleucia, Hecatompylos, Persepolis, and Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan.

Agriculture was more extensive than it is to-day, though tribes of herdsmen roamed the vast plains just as they do now.

The Persian court was the most luxurious of the time. Its splendor culminated apparently with Khusru II., whose harem of three thousand concubines and ten thousand slave women is the largest mentioned in history. The power of the kings was absolute and unlimited. But their tyranny, which frequently degenerated into fearful cruelty, was felt only by the upper classes, the nobles, and courtiers. The mass of the people, especially after Khusru I., were content and, for the age, well governed.

Chapter II

FOREIGN RULE. 643-1502

THE Arab conquest of Persia did not involve an immediate conversion of the inhabitants to the faith of Islam. The religion of Zoroaster was at first spared and its followers allowed to pay tribute, because like Jews and Christians they had "received a writing" in the words of the Koran, and hence were not to be treated as idolaters whose only choice was conversion or the sword. Nevertheless the process of conversion went on rapidly, aided by a decree of exemption for converts from certain oppressive taxes. Indeed so numerous were the conversions and so low had the revenue fallen that this bounty system had to be withdrawn in the year 700. The old religion still lingered on and the fire altars remained lighted in the remoter provinces long after the conquest was complete. Later persecution drove the remaining adherents of the ancient faith to seek refuge in India and only a few thousand remain to-day in Persia. The result of this conversion *en masse* has been that Persia has never, unlike the Ottoman empire, been confronted with the problem of a great body of unbelievers among her subjects. That vital source of weakness to Turkey has been spared her more fortunate neighbor.

Though Persia as an independent nation had ceased to exist, still the influence of her superior culture was powerful with her conquerors. The Arabs absorbed to so great an extent the civilization of Persia and the Sassanian methods of government that the Kalif Suleiman once exclaimed, "I marvel at the Persians. They have ruled a thousand years without for a moment having need of us, while we have ruled but a hundred years and have needed them every moment."

Under the Ommeyyad dynasty of kalifs Persia was merely one and not the most important province of the vast empire which within a century after the death of Mohammed stretched from the shores of the Atlantic to the borders of China and Hindustan. In the history of the early kalifate we need note but one episode

which, though creating little stir at the time, had a vital influence on the future of Persia as well as of the whole Mohammedan world. Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet, whose favorite daughter Fatima he married, became kalif after the assassination of Othman in 656; but his authority did not extend beyond the eastern provinces, for Muavia, governor of Syria, and Amru, the conqueror of Egypt, refused him recognition. Ali was assassinated in 661 and Muavia became kalif of all Islam. Of the two sons of Ali, one, Hasan, died of poison, while the other, Hosein, after an abortive attempt at rebellion was massacred with his family and relations at Kerbela by the orders of the Persian governor, Obeidallah. The destruction of almost all the male descendants of the Prophet aroused indignation throughout the Mohammedan world as the tale borne from Mecca by pilgrims gained new and more tragic details. With the pity bred in every household came also a revived interest in the claims of Ali and his descendants to be the true representatives of the Prophet. The movement gained special force in Persia, where Ali had himself ruled and where the general dislike for the Arabs and their doctrine found in this way a chance for expression. A sect arose which held Ali and his descendants, the Twelve Imams, to be the true successors of Mohammed and rejected the regular line of kalifs and all their works. This sect, though soon split into minor divisions and persecuted as Shiahs or heretics, maintained itself in Persia till the day of its own supremacy arrived.

With the advent of the Abbasside kalifs who transferred the capital from Damascus to Bagdad near the Persian frontier, the situation of Persia improved and her position in the Mohammedan world became a more important one. The social distinctions between Arab and Persian began to disappear and Persian families, like the Barmecides under Harun al Raschid, rose to the highest offices in the state. The Abbasside dynasty culminated with Harun al Raschid (Aaron the Just), 786-809, who ruled over a multitude of peoples from Gibraltar to the Indus, forced the emperor of Constantinople to pay him tribute and exchanged embassies with Charlemagne and the emperor of China. His reign is, however, chiefly notable for the revival of learning throughout the East. Bagdad, then the most magnificent city in Asia, was the center to which flocked the learned and talented, for the kalif was known as a generous patron of both the sciences and the fine arts. This

809-872

golden age of letters was attended by an increase in Persian influence. Persian dress became fashionable and the Persian language became the tongue of polite society and of *belles-lettres*, while Arabic remained the language of science and of the official world. The learning of the Greeks was translated into Arabic and Persian, while medicine, astronomy, geography, and mathematics as well as the fine arts, were sedulously cultivated and even advanced by original research. The name of Harun is best known to us through the tales of the Arabian Nights which reveal the



deep impression made on the eastern mind by his wisdom and splendor.

After his death, the Abbasside kalifate rapidly declined. The weak vicegerents of the Prophet, shut up for the most part in their luxurious palaces, gave themselves up to pleasure and relied more and more for protection on their guard of Turkish mercenaries which ruled the capital and set up or deposed rulers as it pleased. In the provinces the governors or native princes threw off all but nominal dependence on Bagdad and strove to establish hereditary and independent states. Of the host of petty dynasties which thus arose in Persia a few only can here be mentioned.

The Saffarid dynasty (872-902) was founded by Yusuf, the

son of Leis the Saffar (coppersmith). Yusuf began his career as leader of a band of robbers, and so increased his power that the kalif was obliged to make him governor of Seistan, which, of all the Persian provinces, preserved most of the ancient culture and national spirit. Yusuf soon extended his dominions over Herat on the one hand and over Shiraz and Fars on the other. At last he broke into open revolt against the kalif but was defeated and died, 878. His brother Amr ruled over the greater part of the provinces of Fars, Kirman, Seistan, and Khurasan, that is, a greater part of the modern kingdom, till the year 900, when his power was broken by Ismail the Samanid.

Ismail ibn Ahmad, founder of the Samanid dynasty (874-999) was descended from a Persian noble of Bactria who, having renounced Zoroastrianism, rose to high rank under the kalifs, while his sons held the governments of Samarkand and Kashgar. In 903 Ismail having conquered the Saffarids in Khurasan brought under his sway the vast region from the deserts of central Asia to the Persian Gulf and from the borders of Irak to the River Indus. Under him the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara attained great splendor and became centers of civilization and learning for the whole Mohammedan world. The empire which he had founded lasted till 1004, when Samarkand and Bokhara were captured by the Seljuk Turks, while the southern provinces fell to the sultan of Ghazni.

The Buwayids, or Dilemites, who claim descent from Bahram Ghor, the usurper against Khusru II., held in 932 the provinces of Fars and Ispahan. A few years later they captured Bagdad and ruled for the feeble kalifs with the title of amir-ul-omra, until their overthrow, first by Mahmud of Ghazni and finally by the Seljuk Turks.

More important than any of these fleeting dynasties was that founded by Mahmud of Ghazni, 997-1030. Mahmud was the son of Subuktigin, prince of Ghazni in Afghanistan, who had succeeded in spreading his sway over all that mountainous region, even making an inroad into Hindustan. Mahmud, surnamed "the Victorious," took up his father's career of conquest and in a series of campaigns overran the Punjab and captured the sacred city of Lahore. Recalled by an invasion of the Tatars into Khurasan, he defeated and drove them beyond the Oxus. Then turning again to India he spread his conquests eastward to the Ganges and south-

997-1038

ward to Gujarat. A zealous Mohammedan, he converted multitudes to the faith and laid the foundations for Mohammedan power in India.

Mahmud professed the greatest respect for the kalif whom he freed from the usurping Dilemites. In return the commander of the Faithful made him his lieutenant and granted him the highly prized title of sultan. Mahmud occupies a conspicuous position in the illustrious line of Mohammedan conquerors. The extent of his ravages is illustrated by the famous story told by his vizir of an owl who daily wished long life to Mahmud because she was enabled to give her daughter the dowry of a hundred ruined villages. Mahmud is also noted as a patron of literature. Among the four hundred poets who were maintained at his court was Ferdousi, the greatest epic poet of Persia, whose *Shah-nameh*, or *Book of Kings*, has preserved for us Persia's traditions of her own past. After the death of Mahmud his kingdom soon fell to pieces. The Persian provinces were conquered by the Seljuk khans, while his Indian empire with its capital at Lahore flourished till 1186 and then fell before the sultans of Ghor.

Among the nomad tribes which were attracted to Persia by the glowing accounts sent home by the Turkish mercenaries of the kalif, the most powerful was that of the Seljuks. The Seljuks were a branch of a Turkish race, the *Holi Hu*, who had wandered from the steppes of Siberia and settled around the Caspian in the eighth century of our era. Seljuk, from whom the tribe took its name, was chief of a small principality with Bokhara as its capital. His sons are said to have been invited into Persia by Mahmud of Ghazni, himself, to war with him against the powerful Samanids. The story runs that Mahmud demanded of the Seljuk envoy what force they could bring to his aid. "Send this arrow," said the envoy, presenting one of two which he carried, "and fifty thousand horse will appear. Send the second arrow and an equal number will follow." "But suppose," asked Mahmud, "that I was in distress, and needed all your exertions?" "Then," replied the Turk, "send my bow and two hundred thousand horse will obey the summons!" Mahmud was filled with astonishment and secret alarm at this report of his allies' strength and prophesied the overthrow of his own empire.

After the death of the great Ghaznivid, Toghrul Beg, chief of the Seljuks who were now in possession of Khurasan, hearing

of the weakness of the kalif, advanced into Persia and captured Bagdad, taking the kalif prisoner. Toghrul treated his illustrious captive with the utmost respect and the latter in return made the Seljuk his viceroy with the title of sultan, thus adding immensely to Toghrul's authority in the eyes of orthodox Mohammedans, who still looked on the kalif as head of all Islam. Moreover, Toghrul married one of the kalif's daughters despite the opposition of the Abbassides, whose family pride had survived their loss of power.

Toghrul Beg was succeeded by his nephew Alp Arslan, the Conquering Lion, 1063-1073. The chief event of his short but brilliant reign was the conquest of Asia Minor, which had been held by the Byzantine emperors against the utmost efforts of the Arab conquerors. In 1070 Alp Arslan encountered the Roman army led by the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, at Manzikert. The rashness of the Roman emperor resulted in the complete defeat of his troops and laid all Asia Minor at the feet of the conqueror. Romanus himself was taken prisoner, but met with a different fate from his unhappy prototype, Valerian, eight centuries before. Alp Arslan treated him with the utmost courtesy and respect and released him and all his companions on the payment of a large ransom. The Seljuk sultan now turned eastward and was preparing for the conquest of the trans-Oxus region, the former seat of his race, when he fell by the hand of a prisoner whom he had just condemned to death. He was buried in his favorite city of Merv and over his tomb was engraved the inscription, "All ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, come to Merv and you will behold it buried in the dust."

Alp Arslan found a worthy successor in his son, Malak Shah, 1073-1093, the most powerful monarch of the Seljuk dynasty. His generals conquered all Syria and invaded Egypt, while to the eastward his empire extended far beyond Samarkand and Bokhara, and even the distant khan of Kashgar paid him tribute. We are told that daily prayers were offered for his health in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Ispahan, Bagdad, Nishapur and Bokhara. The boatmen on the Oxus were paid by bills of exchange drawn on Antioch and current throughout the realm. No Mohammedan ruler had held such an empire since the days of Harun al Raschid. Both Alp Arslan and his son governed ostensibly as viceroys of the puppet kalifs whose spiritual authority was still supreme throughout the eastern Mohammedan world, and whose position may be likened

1093-1141

to that of the Roman Pontiffs of to-day. This respectful attitude of the Seljuk sultans did much to enhance their prestige among Mohammedans.

The reigns of Alp Arslan and Malak Shah, chiefly celebrated for their conquests, are just as notable for the peaceful achievements which center round the name of the Nizam-ul-Mulk. Alp Arslan selected for his chief vizir a native Persian, Abu Ali al Hassan, known in history as Nizam-ul-Mulk—(literally Ornamentor of the State), who remained in office for twenty years. Under his fostering rule Persia flourished as she had not for many generations. Hospitals and caravansaries were erected; bridges, roads, and canals were built or repaired; agriculture and trade were encouraged; while the sultan and his vizir made frequent progresses through the land to see that justice was maintained. Nor were science and literature neglected. Colleges were established at Herat, Nishapur, Ispahan, and Basra, while to the college at Bagdad was added a law school and an astronomical observatory. Malak Shah is unanimously praised by oriental writers for his greatness and wisdom. But a great blot rests on his fame in his treatment of Nizam-ul-Mulk. After serving his master faithfully for twenty years the vizir was dismissed from office through the intrigues of his enemies at court, and was shortly after assassinated by an emissary of Hassan, chief of the Assassins and his personal foe. Malak Shah did not long survive his great minister, and in dying, 1093, did much to hasten the fall of his empire by dividing it among his sons.

The result of this disastrous policy was soon felt. The border provinces on the west soon broke away from the empire and were formed into the sultanates of Iconium, Mosul, Aleppo, and Damascus, which played their part in the history of the Crusades. In the east the process of disintegration was for a time postponed by Sultan Sanjar, whose vassals ruled in Bagdad and Arabia while he was engaged in extending the Seljuk power in India and central Asia. With his death in battle against the Turkomans, in 1141, perished the last vestige of a central power. Persia was soon split up among a number of petty princes called atabegs (tutors) who, originally governing as ministers for the Seljuk princes, ended by usurping the power themselves. The kalif too, recovering some of his temporal authority, ruled once more over Bagdad and the province of Irak, while the eastern provinces of Persia fell into

the hands of the sultans of Khwarezm. The sultanate of Khwarezm, which took its name from the region between the Caspian and the Ural Seas, was founded by the cupbearer of Malak Shah who made his favorite governor of the trans-Oxus province. After the death of Sanjar the princes of this dynasty set up an independent state which soon became the most powerful in the East, extending from Turkestan to the Persian Gulf. Under Sultan Ala-ad-din, 1199-1220, Bokhara and Afghanistan were conquered. Ala-ad-din seems to have adopted the Alid heresy, and was planning the destruction of the Abbasside kalifs when his empire was overthrown by the invasion of the Mongols.

Of all the petty states growing out from the ruins of the Seljuk monarchy, the most peculiar was that of the Assassins. Chance had brought together in youthful friendship, the three most notable men of their day in the East,—Nizam-ul-Mulk, Omar Khayyam, and Hassan ibn as-Sabbah. The three youths met at the college of Nishapur where they studied under the learned Imam el-Muwaffa, and before parting to seek their fortunes made a compact that whoever among them succeeded in life should share his good fortune with his comrades. Accordingly when Nizam ul-Mulk became chief minister of the Seljuk empire, he gave a pension to the dreamer, Omar, and a high office to the ambitious Hassan. But the latter, jealous of his comrade's success, plotted against him and being discovered took to flight. He soon joined the fanatic sect of the Ismailites, a branch of the Alid heresy organized into a sort of hierarchy, only the upper grades of which held the full secrets of the sect. Hassan saw in this organization an opportunity to raise himself again to power. Establishing his seat at the Castle of Alamut (the Eagles' Nest) in the mountains of northern Persia he soon drew about him hundreds of Ismailites whom he proceeded to organize into a brotherhood of murder. The neophytes were taught absolute obedience and complete self-surrender and then sent out as messengers to strike down the enemies of the order, nerved on by promises of the joys of Paradise if they fell. Hassan is even said to have given them a foretaste of this bliss by drugging them with hashish (whence some derive the name of the sect) and conveying them to a beautiful garden, where for a few days they enjoyed all the pleasures of the Moslem Paradise.

The power of this terrible sect spread through Persia and Syria

1038-1223

till the Old Man of the Mountains (Sheikh al Jebal), as the chief of the order was called, ruled over a hundred castles. The murders committed by the Assassins were often aimless and indeed the order resembled in many ways the militant anarchists of to-day. Despite the terror they spread throughout the East the sovereigns of the day found them too useful as instruments of revenge to attempt to suppress the scourge and they continued to flourish till the general catastrophe of the Mongol conquest.

The Seljuk period of Persian history is the golden age of Persian literature, and especially of poetry. Princes and atabegs were proud to maintain poets and philosophers at their courts and themselves sometimes aspired to be men of letters. We have seen how Mahmud of Ghazni maintained at his court Ferdousi, who sang the exploits of the ancient kings of Iran. Among the host of great poets who succeeded him we can only note a few names in passing: Abul Hasan Rudegi, who rose to such favor that he possessed two hundred slaves to wait on him; Nizami, the romantic author of the *Chamshe*, to whom for one poem *Kisil Arslan of Roum* gave fourteen estates; Nasir i Khusran, traveler and philosopher; Djalal-ed-din, mystic and saint; Omar Khayyam, satirist, philosopher, and mathematician, best known to us for his *Rubaiyat*; and a little later Sheikh Muskhu-'d-Din, called Sa'di, the unrivaled didactic poet, author of the *divans* of "*Bustan (Fruit Garden)*," and "*Gulistan (Rose Garden)*," who ranks next to Hafiz as the most popular of Persian poets. It is a striking tribute to the Persian love of the beautiful that Sa'di's tomb, and that of Hafiz as well, are to this day favorite goals of pilgrimage. Literary activity was, however, by no means confined to poetry, as the career of the versatile Omar Khayyam shows. Omar was the author of a treatise on mathematics, an astronomer of note, and one of eight to draw up a new calendar by order of Malak Shah which closely approaches our own in accuracy.

While the brilliant empire of the Seljuks was entering into its period of decay and disintegration, in another part of Asia a power was in process of formation destined to affect fundamentally the history of Asia and of eastern Europe. Persia from its position on the southern highway between east and west had always been subject to the inroads of these eastern hordes which since the days of Attila had been precipitated wave on wave westward from the borders of China. Hitherto Iran had, even when conquered by arms,

been able to maintain and even extend her influence over the invaders from Turan. Thus the Seljuk conquest was that of a people in entire religious sympathy with their Iranian neighbors, and Seljuk rule had proved a blessing instead of a scourge. But the new hordes which now poured west and south from the vast deserts of central Asia were entirely alien to Persia in race, creed, and culture.

In 1205, Temuchen, after years of warfare, united under his sway all the Mongol tribes from the deserts of Siberia to the borders of China, and was proclaimed by them khakan or emperor, assuming the title of Genghis Khan. After firmly establishing his power and creating a marvelous military organization, Genghis sent forth his generals west and south for the conquest of the world. The dispute which led to the invasion of Persia was provoked by the powerful sultan of Khuarezm, Ala-ad-din Mohammed, who wantonly put to death several Mongol merchants, as well as an envoy sent to demand reparation. In 1220 the Mongol armies poured into Khuarezm, took Samarkand and Bokhara, and forced the sultan to flight. From Turkestan the Mongols invaded Khurasan, and the last Khuarezm sultan, Djala-ud-din, after a glorious, though vain resistance, perished, a fugitive, in the hills of Kurdistan. The invaders contented themselves with ravaging the conquered territories, and the civil wars which broke out after the death of Genghis Khan, in 1227, left Persia in peace for twenty years. Genghis Khan in dividing his territories among his sons gave Khurasan and Persia to the youngest. But no attempt was made to take possession of these lands till the accession of Mangu as khakan, who promptly dispatched his brother Hulagu to secure his inheritance. Hulagu with a vast army of horsemen and thousands of Chinese engineers, skilled in the siege of towns, entered Khurasan, in 1256, and marching westward stamped out the Assassins, took Bagdad, and put to death the Abbasside kalif, Al-Mustassem. The great city was, we are told, given up to massacre till the Tigris was swelled with the blood of the victims. With the fall of Bagdad the Abbasside kalifate practically comes to an end. A descendant of the house fled to Egypt and a shadowy succession of kalifs remained there till the last of them surrendered his title and claims to the Ottoman sultan, Selim. The petty states of the atabegs fell an easy prey to the Mongols, and Hulagu met little resistance till he was defeated in Syria by the Mameluke sultan

1256-1295

of Egypt—the first check to the Mongol armies, hitherto deemed invincible.

The Mongol conquest completed in 1258 was the most disastrous Persia had ever experienced. All resistance was punished by indiscriminate massacres and the most revolting cruelties. Many of the famous cities of olden times like Merv and Nishapur, which had survived the Arab and Turkish conquests and even flourished under them were now blotted out, while the greatest of all, Bagdad, never recovered from the effects of Mongol fury. Only Fars, the ancient Persia proper, was saved from the general ruin by its prompt submission, and to this we owe the fact that Persian civilization was not completely wiped out.

Hulagu established his capital at Maragha, a delightful spot among the hills of Azerbaijan, where he died in 1268. His successors, once the conquest was completed, immediately set to work to repair their own ravages and to make some attempts at assimilation with their more cultivated subjects. At the time of the conquest the Mongols were pantheists, worshiping the powers of nature, and hence, though far more tolerant than any other people of the age, they were utterly abhorrent to their Mohammedan subjects. Ahmad Khan, who ascended the throne in 1282, was the first to adopt Islam. But having ordered a general persecution of Christians he so aroused the anger of his followers that they revolted and put him to death. His nephew Arghun, 1284-1291, reversed the policy of his predecessor, held to the ancient faith, persecuted the Mohammedans, and treated the Christians with such favor that Pope Nicholas IV. sent an embassy to thank him for his kindness. Arghun seems to have corresponded with several European sovereigns and especially with Philip IV. of France, to whom he proposed an offensive alliance against the Mohammedan sultan of Egypt. The reign of his successor, Kai-Khatu, a weak and extravagant prince, is notable for a curious attempt to introduce the use of paper currency into Persia. The use of paper money became known to the Mongols through their relations with China, where it had been commonly employed for some time. Kai-Khatu having exhausted his resources bethought himself of this expedient to refill the treasury. A decree was issued prohibiting the circulation of the precious metals and establishing in every city banking houses, called Tschan Khana, where banknotes should be made and issued. These notes, varying in value from one-half a dirhem

(six cents) to ten dirhems (\$1.20), were oblong pieces of paper bearing besides a short inscription in Chinese, the Mohammedan confession of faith and the Tatar titles of the king of Persia. The value of the note was inscribed in the center, together with the date of issue and a mandate commanding all to receive this currency. The scheme was, however, a failure, for it aroused such general execration throughout all the empire that Kai-Khatu was forced to withdraw it to avoid a general rising. It was in the same reign that Marco Polo the Venetian, after a residence of many years at the court of the Great Khan in China came to Persia on his way home in the suite of a Tatar princess sent to become the wife of the Persian king.

Kai-Khatu was succeeded in 1295 by Ghazan Mahmud, the ablest of the Mongol line. Ghazan began his reign by a vigorous effort to break the power of the turbulent Mongol chiefs who had become semi-independent princes. To gain the support of the masses of the people in his struggle, he took the decisive step of making public profession of his conversion to Mohammedanism and his example was followed by 100,000 Mongol warriors. Ghazan Mahmud did much to reform and consolidate his empire and the institutes which he caused to be drawn up formed a model of administrative law for his successors. But his work was only of temporary duration and the long minority of his grandson Abu Said saw the breakup of the empire amid civil wars. On its ruins arose a host of petty states governed by Mongol or native chieftains. Of these local dynasties which thus enjoyed a brief existence the only one worthy of note was that of the Muzaffarids, 1313-1393, founded by Mubarz-ad-din, called Muzaffar "the Victorious." This ruler held the province of Fars as well as Kirman and Kurdistan, adopting as his capital the famous Shiraz, the garden of Persia and the darling of poets. Here at the court of the Muzaffarids flourished Hafiz, called Lishan ul Ghaid, the greatest of Persian poets and one of the greatest of all time. Hafiz was by profession a dervish and taught in the college at Shiraz. His fame rests on his odes, whose exquisite sweetness gained for him the title of Tscheherleb or Sugarlip. He sings of beauty and pleasure in all their varied forms; of love, wine, flowers, nightingales. Occasionally, too, in praise of God and his Prophet, lashing with bitter scorn all manner of hypocrisy, self-righteousness, and narrow abhorrence of the good things of this world. The poetry of Hafiz

1336-1401

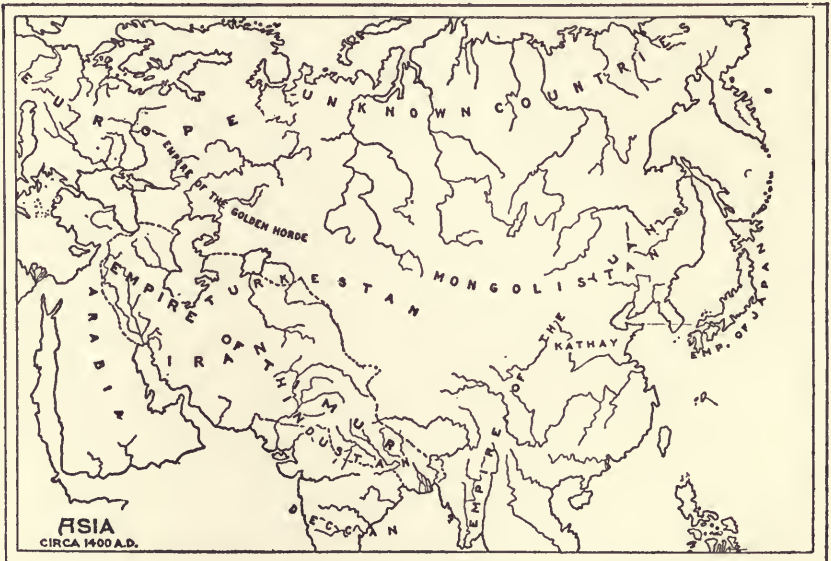
has suffered the same fate as the Song of Songs and the Rubaiyat, for pious interpreters of the poet have tried to invest his sensuous verses with depths of hidden meaning, religious allegory, and mystical utterances. However this may be, the odes as pure poetry stand without rival. Laden with the sweetest melody and clothed in gorgeous imagery they are yet chastened by a classic purity of style and a clear and unaffected diction. Hafiz was during his life pursued by the hatred of the priesthood whose outward piety and hypocrisy he scorned and satirized. But after his death his lyrics soon became a national and sacred poetry and his tomb without the walls of Shiraz and not distant from that of Sa'di, became a favorite shrine for pilgrims.

The Muzaffarid dynasty after a short term of splendor fell before the mightiest conqueror who had yet invaded the soil of Persia. Amir Timur, surnamed Leng, or the Lame, was born in the province of Samarkand about the year 1336. After many adventures and vicissitudes which are related in his "Institutes" he became by 1380 the undisputed ruler of Turkestan and Kashgar, overthrowing the power of the Mongol khans. Then turning southward he ravaged Afghanistan and Khurasan, turning them into deserts. In 1384, Timur entered Persia and easily overthrew the last of the Mongol princes. The great city of Ispahan at first submitted but suddenly revolted and put its Tatar garrison to death. Timur retook the town and to make an example ordered a general massacre of all the inhabitants. Seventy thousand heads were raised in ghastly pyramids as a monument to his revenge and a warning to those who dared oppose him.

Recalled for a time by a war against the Golden Horde of Russia which he speedily overthrew, Timur again entered Persia in 1393. All the princes submitted at once save the Muzaffarid Mansur Shah, who, with his army of mailclad horsemen made a brave resistance and fell in battle. The provinces of old Persia which had escaped the horrors of the Mongol invasion now felt the scarcely less thorough ravages of the Tatars. The capture of Bagdad completed the conquest of Persia and Timur, placing the government in the hands of his sons, returned to his favorite residence of Samarkand.

The following years were occupied by campaigns in such widely separated regions as Russia and Hindustan. The year 1401 saw Timur again in Persia preparing for the culminating struggle

of his life against the sultan of the Ottoman Turks. The issue was decided in the field of Angora, where the discipline of the Turkish troops was of no avail against the generalship of Timur and the vastly superior numbers of the Tatars. Sultan Bayezid was taken prisoner to die of mortification and despair, while the Tatar armies swept across Asia Minor, took and destroyed Smyrna and appeared on the shores of the Bosphorus. Here the sea, an utterly alien element to the horsemen of Timur, checked further advance.



Timur did not long survive this, his greatest triumph. He died in 1405 while preparing to lead an invasion of China.

At the close of his life Timur could look back on thirty years of constant warfare in which he had ravaged the continent from China to Egypt, from Delhi to Moscow. He died lord of an empire beside which the Roman and the Macedonian shrink into insignificance. Amir Timur (he never assumed a higher title) was, we are told, of good stature, somewhat corpulent, with a fair complexion and wonderfully brilliant eyes. He was a devout Mohammedan, esteeming his conquest of the pagans of Hindustan to be the proudest achievement of his life. Purely a conqueror and destroyer, he inflicted an incalculable amount of suffering on the human race and lacked either the desire or the capacity for organ-

1405-1502

izing his conquests. Yet he possessed some attractive qualities and was by no means a barbarian. He was a man of some culture, an admirer of Hafiz and a zealous patron of literature among his own people, laying the foundations for an extensive literature in Jagetai-Turki. He himself is supposed to have been the author of two works—his “Memoirs,” and the “Institutes,” which have aroused the admiration of no less a person than the historian Gibbon. His marvelous achievements were largely made possible by the conditions of Asia on his appearance. The Mongol dynasties were everywhere falling to pieces, while his most dangerous opponents, the Ottoman Turks, had not yet reached their full growth. But the secret of his success lies still more in his own inexhaustible energy and unflinching activity. “When I clothed myself in the robes of empire” he says in the “Institutes,” “I shut my eyes to safety and to the repose which is found on the bed of ease.”

Timur was succeeded by his son Kulil Sultan, whose amours with the beautiful Shad-ul-Mulk are famous in eastern story and ended by costing him his throne. His place was taken by the fourth son of Timur, Shah Rokh, a wise and peaceful prince who had governed Persia during his father's reign. Shah Rokh owed his name to his father's enthusiasm for chess, for Timur had just checkmated an opponent with his rook or castle when the news of his son's birth was brought to him. Shah Rokh's reign was spent in a constant effort to repair the ravages of his father, but with his death in 1446 the unwieldy empire broke up in a turmoil of civil wars between a host of claimants. The Persian provinces remained nominally subject to the descendants of Timur, Babar, Abu Seid, and Husein Mirza, who lost their provinces one by one to the Turkomans.

The Turkomans were a nomad people of Turkish race who had settled in Anatolia and Armenia and had split into two rival tribes, the Black Sheep and the White Sheep. In 1466 Uzum Hasan (Hasan the Long), chief of the White Sheep, overthrew the prince of the rival tribe and became ruler of all Armenia and Kurdistan. Continuing his conquests he soon routed the weak successor of Timur and added most of Persia to his domains. He was less successful, however, in a contest with Mohammed II., the great Ottoman sultan, and his empire was a purely personal one and did not long survive him.

Chapter III

THE NEW PERSIAN EMPIRE. 1502-1733

THE death of Hasan marks an epoch in Persian history. With him ended the series of foreign tyrannies which had followed in rapid succession since the decline of the Abbassides. In their stead arose a very different sort of dynasty based on the national and religious sympathies of the people. From the sacred province of Azerbaijan, the traditional home of the prophet Zoroaster, came the race of the Safi, destined to carry out the second great religious revival in Persian history and to establish a native monarchy, the Safawi dynasty, such as had not existed since the fall of the Sassanidæ.

We have seen what causes led to the rise of the Alid or Aliite sect, whose cardinal doctrines were reverence for Ali and his descendants as the Twelve Imams, the true successors of the Prophet, and rejection of the regular line of kalifs as well as of the Sunna or body of tradition collected in their reigns. The followers of Ali, called by their opponents Shiahs (sectaries), made most of their converts in Persia, where hatred of the Arabs and a strong inclination to mysticism caused the people to accept with gladness the new belief. Thus in spite of long persecution the Shiahs made continual progress and at the period we have reached formed the bulk of the population. Among these sectaries the Safi family, descended through Sheikh Safi from the seventh Imam, Musa al Kasim, was highly revered both for noble birth and extreme sanctity. In the days of Timur, the learned Sheikh Sudder-ud-Din was sought out by the conqueror after his Turkish campaign and asked what favor could be done him. "Release the tribes you have led captive," was the reply of the sheikh. Timur did so and the seven Turkish tribes, full of gratitude, became ardent disciples of the holy man. Jumejd, the grandson of Sudder-ud-Din, became so influential and was followed by such crowds of pupils that Shah Jahan in fear banished him from Azerbaijan and forced him to take refuge with Uzum Hasan, whose daughter he married. In the

1502-1524

confusion which followed the death of Hasan, Sheikh Ismail, grandson of Jumejd, rose in revolt against the Turkomans, whom he quickly defeated and at the end of four years found himself master of all Persia, 1502. Thus easily, by aid of religious sympathy and appeals to national feeling, was this momentous revolution accomplished.

Ismail, once his creed and authority were firmly established throughout Persia, turned to attack the Uzbeks, who, under Shakban Khan, had overthrown the Timurid dynasty in Turkestan. In 1510 the Uzbeks were defeated and driven from Khurasan and Afghanistan. A more dangerous enemy was the Ottoman sultan Selim, a fanatical Sunnite or orthodox Mohammedan.

The Ottoman Turks had first come into collision with the Persians at the time of the invasion of Timur. Now as rulers of Asia Minor and conquerors of Constantinople they became the logical enemies of Persia, as had been their predecessors, the Roman emperors. Mohammed II. engaged in the old frontier struggle with Uzum Hasan. Now in the days of his grandson the religious schism had arisen to widen the breach and array the two leading Mohammedan powers against each other as implacable foes. Selim preceded his attack on Persia by a general massacre of the Shiah in his dominions, 40,000 of whom were put to death. He then proclaimed a holy war against Ismail, declaring that the death of one Shiah was equivalent to that of seventy Christians. The two armies met in 1514 in the great battle of Chalderan.

The Turkish artillery and the janizaries decided the day against Persia despite the bravery of Ismail, who led his cavalry in desperate charges to the very mouths of the Turkish cannon. Ismail's capital, Tabriz, was captured and all Persarmenia and Mesopotamia fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Selim's wars against Egypt and his death in 1520 enabled Ismail to recover his strength and even to conquer Georgia, but he was unable to recover the lost provinces. He died in 1524 while on a pilgrimage to his father's tomb at Ardebil and was mourned by all his subjects, among whom he was regarded as a saint.

The reign of Ismail was of vital moment, not only to Persia, which he left once more an independent state, but to the whole Mohammedan world. Islam was now definitely split into two great religious parties, whose hatred for each other was even greater than that they entertained for unbelievers. The result for Christianity

was of incalculable benefit. Had the sultans of Turkey obtained recognition of their succession to the kalifate from Persia and made of her a devoted ally instead of a bitter foe, the danger to Europe, already seriously threatened by the single might of the Ottomans, would have been vastly increased, and the flood of conquest might not have been stayed at the walls of Vienna. But the Ottoman empire and Persia, far from uniting under the banner of Islam, wasted their best strength in bloody and indecisive conflicts with each other. The Mohammedan schism, as great in its effect on the East as was the Reformation on the West, must be reckoned among the most potent elements which have assisted in the final triumph of the Cross over the Crescent.

Shah Ismail was succeeded by his son, Tamasp, a man of little ability or energy. His reign was marked by wars with the marauding Uzbegs on the one hand and with the Turks on the other. The Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent made no less than six Persian campaigns, and though always meeting with a valiant resistance, conquered anew Armenia and Mesopotamia, with the cities of Erivan, Van, Mosul, and, chief of all, Bagdad. However, despite these losses the reign of Tamasp was in general a prosperous one. His alliance was sought by the chief European powers, who regarded Persia as a bulwark against the threatening power of the Ottoman empire, now in its zenith. An Englishman, Anthony Jenkinson, was sent by Queen Elizabeth to open commercial relations with Persia. But he met with little encouragement, for Tamasp, a very zealous man, dismissed him on learning that he was a Christian. One blot on the character of Tamasp is his surrender to Sultan Suleiman of Prince Bayazid, to whom he had promised protection. He did better by the fugitive emperor of India, Humayun, son of Babar, whom he welcomed heartily and assisted in recovering his throne.

The death of Tamasp in 1576 was followed by a period of disorder in which his sons strove for the mastery, aided by the rival Kuzul Bash tribes. The Kuzul Bash, who play a great part in the modern history of Persia, were the seven Turkish tribes released by Timur, who attached themselves to the Safawi family and aided Ismail to gain the throne. Their leaders held important positions in the government; and the army and the tribesmen, always turbulent and unruly, were often as dangerous supporters of the monarchy as were the pretorians at Rome or the janizaries at Constantinople.

In 1585 the period of confusion was closed by the accession of the young Abbas, who had been brought up as nominal governor of Khurasan under the tutelage of Ali Kuli Khan. Abbas's first care was directed to clearing the country of foreign invaders. Taking advantage of the confusion in Persia, the Turks had invaded Azerbaijan and made themselves masters of Tabriz, while the Uzbegs had raided Khurasan, stormed Herat and Mashad, and massacred the inhabitants. A rapid campaign cleared Azerbaijan and Ghilan of the Turks. Then by the decisive battle of Herat the Uzbegs were so badly punished that Persia was long freed from their inroads. Meantime, the generals of Abbas were occupied in asserting the shah's authority along the Persian Gulf. The pearl islands, of which the chief is Bahrein, were subdued and the mountainous district of Lars, whose chief claimed descent from one of the companions of Rustam, was reconquered. Among the spoils was a crown said to have belonged to Khai Khusru (Cyrus the Great).

The chief danger to Abbas's throne lay always in the Ottoman power, which still kept its grip on Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and part of Azerbaijan, the native province of the Safi. Abbas fully realized that the irregular Persian lines were no match for the trained infantry and splendid artillery of the Turks. Consequently he gladly accepted the services of two English gentlemen-adventurers, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Shirley, who set to work to improve the Persian artillery and to organize a body of infantry trained like the janizaries. Hitherto the pick of the army had been drawn from the Kuzul Bash tribesmen, always unruly and deeming themselves masters of the country. The new system reduced the numbers of this dangerous soldiery and gave to Abbas a better organized and more dependable force. By 1602 the shah's plans were perfected and war was declared with the Ottoman empire. Abbas marched with 65,000 men into Azerbaijan, calling his people to arms in the holy war against the enemies of Ali and the family of the Prophet. A decisive battle was fought between 100,000 Turks against the famous Christian renegade Cigala and the Persian army led by the shah in person, whose superior generalship carried the day. The complete triumph of the Persians was followed by the reconquest of the lost provinces of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kurdistan, and Bagdad, and with them the sacred places of the Shiahs, Kerbela, where Hosein had met his fate, and Samrah. The

Turks kept up a constant border warfare throughout the reign of Abbas, but the disputed provinces remained in Persian hands.

The victories of Abbas over the Turks, still the most dreaded power of the day, raised him to the front rank among princes, and caused his friendship to be courted by all the European states. The period of European expansion into the East was now well under way, and the English, the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch were busy laying the foundations of their Asiatic empires. With the English and the Dutch, who threatened him in no way, Abbas kept on the best of terms and encouraged commercial intercourse between them and his subjects. With the Portuguese, the first comers in the field, the case was different, for the settlements made by Albuquerque on the Persian Gulf seemed to threaten the paramountcy of Persia in that region. Of these settlements, that of Ormuz at the mouth of the gulf was the most prosperous and the most coveted by the Persian monarch. The Island of Ormuz had been conquered about the year 1514 by Albuquerque, the great Portuguese viceroy of the Indies. In spite of the barrenness and the terrific heat of the spot, a city was founded which from its favorable position soon became an emporium of trade for Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and India. It is said that when Shah Ismail sent to Albuquerque demanding the tribute formerly paid by the princes of the island, the viceroy sent back swords and bullets with the message: "This is the coin with which Portugal pays her tribute." Thanks to the respect inspired by the great Portuguese, Ormuz remained unmolested until Abbas thought to make its wealth his own. In alliance with the English, the jealous rivals of the Portuguese, Abbas attacked the city and conquered it in 1622. But the shah found that instead of gaining the riches he desired, he had destroyed the trade which had added so much to the prosperity of his country. Ormuz naturally declined, and in spite of English efforts, its vast commerce disappeared or turned into other channels.

Though Shah Abbas ranks among the first of Persian warriors, his real title to fame rests on his internal achievements rather than on his conquests. Ispahan, his capital, was beautified with broad avenues, stately mosques, and splendid palaces, so that it became the most glorious city of Asia. Its walls were twenty-four miles in circuit and its population is said to have reached a million. It became the emporium of Asiatic trade and in its bazaars could be found the merchandise and products of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

1582-1628

The favorite palace of the shah, the Chehel Sitton or Forty Columns, was situated in a park outside the city walls. Along the front of the palace ran a double row of columns, each rising from the backs of four white marble lions. These pillars were inlaid with mirrors, and the walls and ceilings of the palace were decorated with crystal and gold. The Great Mosque in Ispahan was also the work of Abbas. But the shah did not confine his efforts to the capital, for



his activity extended to all parts of the empire. Roads were improved, bridges built, and huge caravanseries erected for the accommodation of travelers. Justice was better administered and corruption less rife than at any time since the days of the Nizam-ul-Mulk. Through a zealous Mohammedan, Abbas was tolerant in his views and encouraged settlements of Jews and Christians in his dominions. But his tolerance did not extend to the Sunnite Mohammedans. On the whole, in spite of such mistakes as the de-

struction of Ormuz, we must regard Abbas as one of the most enlightened of Mohammedan rulers and fully deserving of that title too often indiscriminately applied—"the Great." He ranks with Khusru Anushirwan as the greatest and wisest of Persian rulers.

The private life of Abbas forms the dark side of his character. He was by nature cruel and often treacherous. A fearful tyrant in his own family, he was seized with jealousy of his own sons, who were universally beloved; one of them he put to death, two others he caused to be blinded. Yet Abbas was capable of being an agreeable and even captivating companion. He was a lover of good cheer, drank wine despite the prohibition of the Koran, and was somewhat of a wit. On settling a colony of Christians in the province of Mazanderan he remarked that as its chief products were wine and hogs they would consider themselves in Paradise. He died in 1628 at his favorite palace of Ferrahabad, aged seventy years.

That great traveler, Sir John Chardin, tells us that with the death of Abbas Persia ceased to prosper, and, indeed, it seems evident that the Persian character which had in the past given proof of its virility and marvelous power of recuperation, now degenerated under the peaceful misgovernment of the successors of the great shah. It is almost impossible to account with exactness for this gradual change in the character of the Persian people. Indeed, it is almost unnoticeable till suddenly the great empire shows its full weakness in a startling manner, and falls an easy prey to a handful of Afghan warriors. Right here lies the contrast between the two great Mohammedan powers, Turkey and Persia. Both have suffered for centuries under a detestable system of government; but while the native of Persia seems to have lost his former bravery and independence of character under the system, the Ottoman Turk with all his faults retains to-day much of his former virility, while as a soldier he has few superiors.

With the descendants of Abbas a new principle enters into the royal family. The royal princes, hitherto trained to public service in war and government, were now confined by oriental jealousy to the harem, with the inevitable result of a line of weak and debauched tyrants.

Abbas's successor, his grandson Safi, began his reign by murdering most of the princes of the blood, as well as many of the most trusted servants of his grandfather. He is even accused of matricide.

1628-1694

These cruelties may have been only part of a settled design to destroy the feudal forces in Persia and thus consolidate the royal authority; but the only result was to deprive Persia of her ablest men and thus weaken her strength. In the reign of Safi, the Uzbegs resumed their raids into Khurasan, the emperor of Hindustan conquered Kandahar, and the Turks recovered Bagdad and most of Mesopotamia. Safi died from the effects of debauchery after an inglorious reign of fourteen years, 1628-1642.

A temporary reaction came with the accession of Abbas II., a child of ten years. His ministers, zealous Mohammedans, instituted a strict policy of reform and strove to put down the vices which were sapping the nation's strength. But the very strictness of their guardianship may have driven the young shah to the opposite extreme. At any rate Abbas II. was a worthy emulator of his father, indulging in the most fearful debauches, to which Europeans were frequently invited. Though capable when drunk of the worst atrocities, Abbas was in the main a just and mild ruler. He recovered Kandahar from Shah Jahan of Hindustan and kept on the best of terms with his Ottoman neighbors, who could find no weightier reason for sending an embassy to Ispahan than the purchase of a trick elephant. Abbas died at the age of thirty-four, overcome like his father by the effects of evil living.

His son, Safi II., 1666-1694, inherited the dissolute character of Abbas. He was governed by favorites and was particularly fond of Europeans, who found a sure path to his favor by presents of wine. A story told of Safi illustrates the superstition of the Persian monarchs and their dependence on astrologers and soothsayers. The shah was once taken very ill and it was discovered that he had been crowned on a day of evil omen. Accordingly, when he had recovered, Safi vacated the throne for a day and was then recrowned under more favorable auspices, assuming the new name of Suleiman, by which he is generally known. The court of Suleiman was famous throughout Europe and Asia for its magnificence. Thither came many travelers who have left us curious pictures of the times—our only source, in fact, for Persian history of this period.

On his deathbed the shah said to his ministers, "If you desire ease elevate Husein Mirza to the throne; but if you desire the glory of your country elevate Abbas Mirza." Evidently the ministers preferred their own interests to those of the country, for Husein was chosen, and did more by his bigotry and weakness to ruin the

nation than his predecessors had by their vices. At first Husein, under the influence of the priests or mullas, persecuted the sectaries, who, like the Huguenots in France, formed the best blood of the nation. The philosophical sect of the Sufi, though knitted by the closest bonds to the very meaning of the dynasty, was driven into exile. Eunuchs and mullas ruled the country in place of the nobles, and the fact that Husein reigned peacefully for twenty years shows to what depths of weakness and indifference the nation had fallen.

The blow which produced a new revolution in Persian affairs came as usual from the east, but this time from a new and hitherto insignificant race. The Afghans, a people of Aryan blood, though they claimed descent from the lost tribes of Israel, had for centuries maintained a semi-independent position in their mountains, balancing between Persia and Hindustan. Between the two the Afghans were perhaps more hostile to Persia, for they were Sunnites, orthodox Mohammedans, and hated the Shiahs. At this period the Afghans were divided into two main branches, the Ghilzis, who held Kabul and Kandahar and could put thirty thousand men into the field, and the less powerful but equally numerous Sadozais, who dwelt about Herat. Both these tribes had been subject to Persia since the days of Abbas the Great, but now, with the decline of his empire, their opportunity had come. Oppressed by the Georgian governor of Kandahar, Ghurgin Khan, the Ghilzis rose under Mir Wais, killed the governor by treachery and seized the city. Two Persian armies sent against them were defeated and by 1709 Mir Wais had fully established the independent state. The example of the Ghilzis was not lost on the other enemies of Persia, which was soon threatened on all sides. The Kurds were encouraged by Afghan success to take up arms, the Sadozai clan revolted at Herat and aided by the Uzbegs defeated an army of 30,000 Persians, while the Arabs of Maskat threatened the Persian Gulf and defeated a combined attack of Persians and Portuguese.

The new ruler of Kandahar, Mahmud, who succeeded his father, Mir Wais, in 1717, seeing his opportunity in these disturbances, invaded Seistan and seized the city of Kirman. The only able Persian leader, Sulf Ali, fell through court jealousy, and Mahmud at the head of 25,000 men advanced with surprising ease to within nine miles of Ispahan itself. The news of the appearance of the Afghans threw the capital into a state of panic and Shah

1717-1725

Husein, beside himself with fear, tried in vain to bribe Mahmud to withdraw. At last a force of troops was assembled and the Persian army 50,000 strong marched out against the enemy. The Persians, showily dressed, finely mounted and equipped, presented a striking contrast to the ragged and tentless Afghans, in whose ranks nothing glittered save the sword blades and the lanceheads. But this tattered horde, aided it is true by treachery, soon drove the Persians in headlong rout back to Ispahan. The terror in that city rose to the highest pitch. At first Shah Husein thought of flight, but was finally persuaded to remain and stand a siege. We have seen that Ispahan had under Shah Abbas become one of the most splendid cities of the East. The River Zanderud, spanned by noble bridges, divided the city into two parts, the main section on the northern bank, the Armenian settlement of Julfa and the royal palaces on the southern. It was against these southern suburbs that the Afghans began their attack. The Armenian suburb had been founded by Abbas the Great and had prospered greatly during his reign. Now the misgovernment and fanaticism of Husein had done much toward ruining the settlement. Nevertheless, the Christians showed themselves faithful to the shah and only when the imbecile court refused to aid them did they consent to surrender, paying a great ransom to escape pillage. Mahmud, once secure of the southern suburb, now proceeded to blockade the city, ravaging the country round and cutting off all supplies. Ispahan was soon reduced to starvation, while the utter weakness of the shah and the treachery of his advisors aided to make the situation desperate. The city surrendered without a blow being struck, Husein abdicated his throne and saluted Mahmud as shah. Such was the miserable end of the Safawi dynasty, which had begun so brilliantly two hundred years before.

The distracted state of Persia was immediately taken advantage of by her external foes. While an internal war was ravaging the provinces, for the Afghans held scarcely more than the city of Ispahan, the Turks seized Tabriz and Hamadan, while a new and formidable enemy appeared in the Caspian. The northern shores of this inland sea had been held by the Russians since the destruction of the Golden Horde by Ivan the Terrible. Now under Tsar Peter the Great a Russian fleet appeared on the sea and a Russian army of 30,000 men devastated the coast provinces of Derbent and Ghilan. Meantime, a son of Husein named Tamasp had taken

refuge in Astrabad, where many flocked to his support and the situation of Mahmud and his handful of followers grew more and more difficult. In order to strike terror and so paralyze all resistance, the Afghan plunged into the most fearful atrocities. The whole family of Husein was butchered before the eyes of the captive monarch; three hundred Persian nobles with their families were treacherously massacred at a banquet and thousands of citizens of Ispahan shared a similar fate. Mahmud died in the midst of these cruelties at the early age of twenty-seven years (1725). The Afghan leader was not a great man, though he overthrew a great empire. He possessed courage and activity, but his marvelous success was due rather to the rottenness of the Persian empire and the unwarlike character of the people, than to his own talents. The task of governing his conquests was altogether beyond him and he could think of no better method of securing his authority than by startling acts of barbarity.

The first care of Mahmud's successor, Ashraf, was to make peace with the Turks, whose aid he hoped to gain by acknowledging the Ottoman sultan to be kalif of all Islam. By this time Tamasp, aided first by Ali Khan and then by a robber chieftain, Nadir Kuli, had become a most dangerous opponent. In a short space of time Nadir, as general of the royal forces, captured Mashad, Nishapur, and Herat from the Afghans, and forced all Khurasan to submit to the authority of Tamasp. Ashraf marched against him, but was so thoroughly beaten at Damghan that the Afghans only rallied at Teheran, two hundred miles from the field. This defeat broke the charm of Afghan invincibility which had held the country in terrified subjection. Everywhere the Persians rose against their masters and Ashraf was forced to abandon Ispahan after putting to death Shah Husein, and to fall back on Shiraz closely pursued by Nadir Kuli. The retreat of the Afghans soon became a wild flight for safety. Ashraf managed to reach Baluchistan, only to fall at the hands of the tribesmen, and very few of his followers ever reached their native land. But their destruction was but little consolation to Persia. During seven years her greatest cities had been ruined and her best provinces reduced to deserts by a small band of foreigners who could maintain themselves in the midst of a great nation only by means of the fear they inspired.

Chapter IV

MODERN PERSIA. 1733-1906

ALL eyes in Persia were now turned on Nadir Kuli, who, acting nominally for Shah Tamasp, had delivered the country from the Afghan scourge. Nadir Kuli belonged to the tribe of Afshar, one of the seven Kuzul Bash tribes. In early life he had led a most precarious existence and was chief of a band of robbers when he offered his services to Prince Tamasp. Rivalry between Nadir and Fath Ali, the other chief supporter of Tamasp, led to the assassination of the latter and Nadir became chief general of the shah, who was a mere puppet in his hands. As a reward for his great services Nadir was granted the provinces of Khurasan, Mazanderan, Seistan, and Kirman, so that almost half of Persia was under his control.

Nadir did not rest long on the laurels of the Afghan campaign. The Turks were driven from Azerbaijan in short order and a campaign in Armenia was in preparation when a revolt of Herat called him to the east. During his absence Shah Tamasp renewed the Turkish war, was soundly beaten, and made peace, giving back the provinces which his great general had just won. This fiasco cost him the throne. For Nadir declaring the treaty to be contrary to the will of heaven, called on all faithful Shiahs to take up arms, and marching on Ispahan dethroned the unlucky shah and set up his son Abbas as titular ruler. This accomplished, Nadir renewed the war with Turkey and marched on Bagdad, the center of Ottoman power in those regions. The city would surely have fallen, despite the brave defense of its governor, had it not been for the arrival of 100,000 Turks under the noted vizir, Topal Osman. Nadir turned to meet this new adversary with 70,000 men, and the two hosts met, 1733, on that same field of Samrah, where the Emperor Julian had fallen in battle with the Persians, fourteen centuries before. After a long and bloody battle the Persians fled, leaving 20,000 dead on the field, and never rallied till they reached the distant city of Hamadan. It was under these critical circum-

stances that the genius of Nadir showed at its best. He praised and rewarded his beaten troops, raised their spirits anew, re-established discipline, and was soon able to take the field with another great host. This time fortune favored the Persians. The Turks, seized with panic, fled before them and Topal Osman was slain. Armenia and Georgia soon fell into Persian hands and though Bagdad remained Turkish, Nadir was able by a final treaty in 1735 to recover all the provinces lost during the Afghan wars.

The time had now come when Nadir could throw aside all pretense and assume the titles as well as the powers of a king. The timely demise of the child-shah, Abbas III., smoothed the way, and Nadir, with feigned reluctance, accepted the crown offered by the generals of his army. But he made it a condition on ascending the throne that the Shiah faith should be abolished as the state religion, and that Persia should reënter the orthodox fold. Nadir had hitherto been a zealous Shiah and had not hesitated to enlist religious differences in his struggle with the Ottoman power. But the Shiah sect was too closely allied with memories of the dynasty he had dethroned for him to found his empire on its support. Moreover, the ambition of the new shah already looked forward to the conquest of other nations and in abolishing the Shiah faith he saw removed the religious barrier which separated Persia from her neighbors, and the path smoothed for external conquests. On February 26, 1736, at twenty-six minutes after eight in the morning, as we are assured by an accurate historian, Nadir Shah placed the crown, or rather the cap of royalty, on his head.

Once the internal tranquillity of the country was restored, Nadir's first object was the reconquest of Afghanistan. With 80,000 men he invaded the country and laid siege to Kandahar, where Husein Khan, brother of Mahmud, still held sway. After a year's ineffectual blockade, regular siege operations were commenced and the town was finally taken by storm. The Afghans were kindly treated and, religious differences being now removed, were soon enlisted in support of Nadir. Meantime the shah's son, Riza Kuli, had invaded Balkh, the ancient Bactria, crossed the Oxus, after defeating the Uzbek khans, and was pressing on to Samarkand when he was called by his father to a new field of conquest.

No sooner was Kandahar taken than Nadir Shah turned his energies to a far greater design—the invasion of Hindustan. Northern India or Hindustan had since the days of Mahmud of Ghazni

1737-1738

been ruled by a succession of Mohammedan dynasties. About the year 1526 Babar, a descendant of Timur Leng and ruler of Kabul, driven from Turkestan by the Uzbeks, succeeded in founding a great Indian empire with its capital at Delhi. This so-called Mogul empire reached its height in the reigns of Akbar, the wisest of Mohammedan rulers, and his descendants, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the empire had rapidly declined and even became tributary to the marauding tribes of the Maratha confederacy. The ruling emperor at this time was Mohammed Shah, a jovial incompetent person who, we are told, was never without a mistress in his arms or a glass in his hand.

Nadir easily found a pretext for war in the Indian intrigues among the Afghans, and the Persian host had poured through that gateway of conquerors, the Khaibar Pass, and on to the plains of Punjab before Mohammed awoke to a sense of the danger. In 1738 Lahore fell without resistance and Nadir advanced rapidly to Kamal, within sixty miles of Delhi, where a vast Indian army was drawn up. The battle was of short duration. In four hours the Indian host was completely routed, twenty thousand slain, and Mohammed Shah, finding himself surrounded, was forced to surrender. But the object of Nadir was not conquest, but booty. Mohammed was treated with the utmost respect and reseated on his throne after agreeing to the surrender of his treasure and the cession of the lands west of the Indus. Nadir entered Delhi in triumph, where, besides seizing the enormous imperial treasure, he laid a heavy ransom on the people. An insane rising among the citizens was followed by a general massacre, which ceased only when Mohammed Shah appealed in person for the lives of his subjects. According to an English eyewitness, 150,000 persons perished, though a more likely estimate reduces the total to less than one-tenth of that number. Nadir remained in Delhi fifty-eight days to celebrate the marriage of his son, Nasr-Ullah, with a princess of the house of Timur. When the court officials demanded as was customary the genealogy of the bridegroom for seven generations, Nadir, who was proud of his own lowly origin, replied, "Tell them that he is the son of Nadir Shah, the son of the sword, the grandson of the sword; and so on not for seven but for seventy generations." The marriage ceremonies completed, Nadir returned to Herat bearing with him an enormous booty worth thirty crores of

rupees (\$100,000,000). Among the spoils were the jewel-studded peacock throne of Delhi and a famous diamond, the Koh-i-Nur. In honor of his victory Nadir ordered a general remission of taxes and displayed his treasures in public at Herat.

The next exploit of the conqueror was the invasion of Turkestan and the subjugation of the Uzbek and Khuarezm khans. Samarkand and Bokhara became tributary to Nadir and bear to this day evidences of his triumph. The conquest of Turkestan was the last of the exploits of the shah who had in five years freed Persia from foreign invaders and conquered five powerful rulers. The character of the Persian monarch changed for the worse after the conquest of India and his vast treasures seemed to bring a curse with them. He became avaricious, jealous, and suspicious even of his own sons. Riza Kuli, who promised to be a worthy successor of his father, was suspected of high treason and his eyes were put out, the people were ground down with taxes and the Shiahhs, who still formed the bulk of the population, were bitterly persecuted. At last after six years of tyranny Nadir became unbearable and perished at Mashad through a conspiracy of his own officers, 1747.

Nadir Shah was the last and not the least in the great line of Mohammedan conquerors. He is described as a handsome, robust person of great size and strength, with fine eyes and a ruddy complexion. The tyranny of his later years and his apostasy from the national faith have not obscured the glory of his earlier achievements, and the Persians reverence him to this day as a hero and the deliverer of his country. In Nadir's reign occurred the remarkable attempt of two Englishmen, Elton and Hanway, to establish trade between England and Persia by way of the Black Sea and the Caspian. They succeeded in building up a large trade, but the enterprise was finally ruined by Russian prohibition. Elton built for Persia a small fleet on the Caspian while Hanway has left us a most valuable life of Nadir Shah.

Nadir as a result of his own cruelty left no worthy successor and a period of anarchy followed his death. As soon as the murder was known, Ahmad Khan, chief of the Abdali Afghans, seized Kandahar and set up an independent state, which marks the final separation of Persia and Afghanistan. Through the support of Ahmad, the son of Riza Kuli, Shah Rokh, who had been blinded during the civil wars, was raised to the throne. Shah Rokh had even a better title to reign than his relationship with Nadir Shah,

1747-1789

for his mother was a daughter of Husein, the last real ruler of the Safawi dynasty. Amiable and generous, Shah Rokh proved a popular ruler, but his blindness and lack of real ability prevented him from keeping control of the turbulent tribal chiefs. His authority was soon limited to the province of Khurasan, which the protection of the Afghans helped him to retain. The rest of Persia, after several years of utter confusion and intertribal war, was finally divided between three powerful chieftains. In the north, Mohammed Hasan Khan, chief of the Khajars and son of that Fath Ali Khan who had protected Tamasp II., ruled over Astrabad and Mazanderan; in Azerbaijan, Azad Khan, one of the generals of Nadir Shah, was supreme; while Ispahan and the south were held by Kerim Khan, a Kurdish chieftain. A three-cornered contest between these powerful lords, in which first one and then another gained the upper hand, resulted in the final victory of Kerim in 1760. Azad was overthrown by Mohammed Hasan who, beaten in his turn, perished in a local vendetta.

Kerim Khan ruled for nineteen years, 1760-1779, over all Persia save Khurasan, though he never ventured to assume the royal title of shah in shah, contenting himself with that of wali or regent. His rule was eminently just and he did much to restore prosperity to the sorely distracted land. His favorite residence was at Shiraz, where he built the great bazaar, repaired the tomb of Sheikh Sa'di, and erected a splendid shrine over the grave of Hafiz. Here he died at the age of eighty, leaving the reputation of a wise and peaceful ruler. The short-lived dynasty which he founded is known in history as the Zend, from the name of an ancient Kurdish tribe which claimed to have been entrusted with the sacred Zend-Avesta by the prophet Zoroaster.

The death of Kerim Khan was the signal for new disorders. Zaku Sadik, Ali Murad, and Juafir, all of the Zend dynasty, followed in quick succession. Their reigns are distinguished only by a series of horrible dynastic quarrels, in which brother murdered brother and uncle blinded nephew, and by a revival of the Khajar faction in the north. Agha Mohammed, son of Mohammed Hasan, had in the days of anarchy been taken by his enemies and cruelly mutilated. He had submitted to Kerim Khan after the murder of his father, but at once revolted on hearing of Kerim's death and soon united the Caspian provinces under his rule, with a capital at Teheran.

In 1789 Lutf Ali Khan with the aid of the vizir Hajji Ibrahim succeeded to the throne of the Zends. Lutf Ali was only twenty years of age, brave, handsome, and magnanimous,—in fact a perfect knight-errant, but wholly lacking in the qualities of a ruler. His brief reign was filled by a constant struggle with Agha Mohammed, who was in every way his antithesis—a cold, remorseless, but very able tyrant. In 1790, while on his way to attack Teheran, Lutf Ali was suddenly deserted by Hajji Ibrahim, who went over to Agha Mohammed with most of the army. This act of treachery forced Lutf Ali to abandon Ispahan and Shiraz, where the gates were closed against him by the intrigues of Ibrahim. Deserted by all but a few friends Lutf Ali did not lose courage but, rallying a small force, laid siege to Shiraz and routed an army sent against him. Agha Mohammed now advanced in person with 30,000 men to raise the siege, but Lutf Ali with a handful of followers made a night attack on his camp and threw the whole army into confusion. Only the wonderful coolness of Agha Mohammed saved his army from utter rout. He remained in his tent throughout the night and in the morning ordered the muezzin to call the Faithful to prayer as usual. The troops of Lutf Ali were filled with astonishment, and thinking the whole Khajar host had returned took to flight. Agha Mohammed entered Shiraz in triumph, appointing the traitor Ibrahim as his vizier, while Lutf Ali fled to Khurasan and thence to Kandahar. But even then the undaunted chief did not abandon the contest. Gathering a few men he crossed the frontier in 1794 and seized the important city of Kirman in eastern Persia. Here he was besieged by Agha Mohammed, who finally took the town by treachery. Lutf Ali, after fighting in the streets till all hope was gone, cut his way through the Khajar forces with three companions and escaped into Seistan. Enraged at the escape of his rival, Agha Mohammed gave up the city to plunder and massacre. The eyes of 7000 of the inhabitants were brought to him on a platter, 20,000 women and children were carried away into slavery and the city was reduced to ruins. Lutf Ali did not long survive this disaster. He was soon after betrayed into the hands of his enemy and put to death just six years after his accession to the throne. His fall left Agha Mohammed master of all Persia, save Khurasan, where the blind Shah Rokh still maintained a shadowy overlordship. Urged on by greed for the jewels of Nadir Shah, the Khajar prince found no difficulty in

overrunning the province and seizing Shah Rokh, who was tortured till he revealed the whereabouts of his treasure. The fate of this unhappy monarch, grandson of a mighty conqueror, who died soon after from the effects of his sufferings, forms one of the darkest pages in Persian history.

Agha Mohammed was undoubtedly one of the most inhuman beings that ever sat upon a Persian throne. But the great eunuch king, as he was called, possessed some redeeming qualities, and chief among them a strong sense of patriotism, a rare trait in oriental monarchs. The last and best years of his reign were spent in a constant struggle to save his country from Russia, which had succeeded the Ottoman empire as Persia's most formidable enemy. The relations between Russia and Persia began in the sixteenth century, when Ivan the Terrible overthrew the Tatar khan and established the Muscovite power at Astrakhan. We have seen how Peter the Great took advantage of the Afghan invasion to seize the Persian provinces west of the Caspian. But these successes were only temporary and Peter's successors abandoned his conquests before the might of Nadir Shah.

A new opportunity for Russian aggression presented itself in the situation of the Christian principality of Georgia in the Caucasus, which had generally been under Persian suzerainty. The Georgians, like the Circassians, were esteemed as slaves for their beauty both in Turkey and in Persia, and under Persian rule slave raids were of common occurrence. The country was besides torn by constant dissensions between the ruling princes and the nobles who cared for nothing save their own private interests. It was under these circumstances that Prince Heraclius, despairing for the future of his people under the Persian yoke, placed himself under the protection which Catherine II. of Russia gladly extended. Agha Mohammed had, while still merely governor of Astrabad, ample opportunity to watch with jealousy and to check as he was able the growing encroachments of the Russians in the Caspian. Once firmly seated on the throne, he hastened to take up the Georgian question, demanding the return of Heraclius to his allegiance. The Georgian prince refused, and in 1795 the shah burst into Georgia with 60,000 men, defeated Heraclius in battle and took his capital of Tiflis, slaying or carrying off the inhabitants into slavery. So sudden had been the invasion that the Russians could not arrive in time to aid the Georgians. So great was Cath-

erine's mortification at the news of the sack of Tiflis that she mediated not only the recovery of Georgia, but even the conquest of all Persia. The Russian general, Plato Zubov, advanced in 1796 from Derbent into Georgia with 40,000 men, received the submission of the country, and was preparing to march on Teheran itself when he was recalled by the death of the empress. The Russians had, however, gained great prestige and the good will of the Georgians by their strict discipline and total abstinence from plundering. The next year Agha Mohammed was preparing a new attack when he was assassinated by one of his own body servants whom he had sentenced to death.

Although Agha Mohammed, embittered as he was by the misfortunes of his youth, will rank among the most inhuman of rulers, he did much to restore the Persian monarchy by putting an end to the state of anarchy which had convulsed the empire since the days of Nadir Shah. He suppressed the intertribal wars which sapped the strength of the country, and made praiseworthy efforts to encourage commerce and so enrich his people. But he came too late to effect any lasting improvement, for the character of the people was thoroughly weakened since the time of the great Abbas.

One important change which he did make, however, was the restoration of the Shiah faith, proscribed by Nadir Shah but still the religion of the great majority of the population. The Khajar dynasty, which he founded and which is still the ruling house, was traditionally devoted to the national faith for its ancestors had been among the seven Turkish tribes which had followed the fortunes of Shah Ismail. In personal appearance Agha Mohammed was beardless and shriveled, so ugly that he could not bear to have anyone look upon him.

The eunuch king was succeeded by his nephew, Fath Ali Khan, who reigned for thirty-six years, 1797-1833, during a most eventful period in European history. The first object of the new shah was the reconquest of Georgia, the task bequeathed him by his uncle. In 1800 the Georgian prince, George, son of Heraclius, resigned his crown to Russia; but his brother Alexander refused to accept Russian rule and broke into revolt. Taking advantage of this disturbance, Fath Ali sent his son Abbas Mirza to invade Georgia. Abbas fought a three days' battle with the Russians near Erivan, but the issue was indecisive. The next year the shah took

1801-1829

the field in person, but again little was accomplished and the conflict degenerated into a sort of armed truce, the Russians holding Derbent, Tiflis, and Shirwan, the Persians Erivan.

The widespread influence of the great revolutionary wars in Europe now found their echoes in the active intrigues of the European powers at the Persian court. At first the French emissaries sent by Napoleon when he was contemplating an invasion of India gained some influence. But after the Peace of Tilsit, 1807, when the French became allies of Persia's arch enemy, the shah turned toward the English. Relations between Persia and the British empire had been opened in the year 1800 by Captain John Malcolm, sent by the governor-general of India to conclude a commercial treaty. Now Malcolm returned to the Persian court and British officers were detached to drill the Persian army. In 1810 hostilities recommenced between Persia and Russia and soon after the English officers were withdrawn. But two remained to lead the Persians in the battle of Aslanduz, where the Russians were completely victorious. This battle decided the war and through English mediation the Treaty of Gulistan was signed October 13, 1813, by which Persia acknowledged the Russian annexation of Georgia and ceded to that power the Caspian districts of Daghestan, Baku, and Shirwan. A new war in 1827 ended still more disastrously for Persia. After some preliminary successes, Mohammed Mirza was beaten by the Russians at the Zizan, and his father, Abbas, suffered a like fate at Ganjeh. The Russians crossed the Araxes, took Erivan and Tabriz, and forced the shah to make the humiliating Treaty of Turkmanchai, 1829. By this treaty Persia surrendered Erivan and Nakhitcheran, paid an indemnity equivalent to fifteen million dollars, and agreed to maintain no warships in the Caspian. The Treaty of Turkmanchai marks the beginning of Russian predominance in Persia. By the acquisition of the fortress of Erivan, Russia gained the key to the heart of Persia, while the exclusion of Persian warships from the Caspian practically converted that sea into a Russian lake, and laid the northern provinces of Persia at the mercy of the great northern power. The murder at Teheran of the Russian envoy, who had enraged the people by his overbearing conduct, brought the two nations again to the verge of war. Persia escaped a new disaster only by prompt punishment of the guilty and by sending an expiatory mission to St. Petersburg.

While Persia was continually involved in disastrous conflicts with her northern neighbor during Fath Ali's reign, her relations with England were cordial and English influence continued to grow. In 1809 a commercial treaty was made with India, while in 1814 the English envoys, Ellis and Morier, negotiated the still more important political Treaty of Teheran. By the terms of this treaty it was provided that England should aid Persia by money or troops in case of an unprovoked invasion, while Persia should attack the Afghans if they tried to invade India.

With Turkey Fath Ali was on continual bad terms, and in 1821 war broke out between the two countries. The Persians, led by the veteran Abbas Mirza, gained some successes and invaded Armenia, but were stopped by a terrible outbreak of the cholera. After the lapse of four months Abbas again advanced into Armenia with 30,000 men, beat a Turkish force of 50,000, and was closing in on Erzerum, when operations were again stopped by the plague. Peace was made in 1823 and all the injuries complained of by Persia were promised redress. On the eastern frontier Abbas Mirza was still more successful. Khurasan, semi-independent since the death of Nadir Shah, was now reduced to submission, and Yezd, the seat of the remaining fire-worshippers, and Kirman were brought to recognize the royal authority. While Abbas rested at Mashad, his son Mohammed pressed on to Herat and laid siege to that bone of contention between Persians and Afghans. But the siege proved a failure and the news of his father's death, 1832, forced Mohammed to hasten back to Teheran to secure his own rights of succession.

Russian influence induced Fath Ali, after the death of Abbas, to pass over his seventy-five sons and name Mohammed, his grandson, as his successor. Thus when Fath Ali was dead, Mohammed found himself confronted by the revolt of several of his disappointed uncles. Supported by his father's army and backed by English influence and money, he soon restored order and suppressed a new revolt in Khurasan. The prestige thus gained by England through her military representative, Sir Henry Bethune, was, however, of short duration. The vizir, Hajji Mirza Aghasi, was completely under Russian influence and the Russian envoy, Count Simovich, was the actual ruler of Persia. To create a breach between England and Persia, Count Simovich urged the shah to renew his attack on Herat, which the Indian government,

1832-1843

right or wrong, had begun to view as of vital importance in the system of Indian defense.

In Afghanistan the line of the Abdali khans had been driven from Kabul by Dost Mohammed, one of the Kuzul Bash tribesmen, and had sought refuge in Herat, whence they made continual inroads into Khurasan and Seistan. Herat had always been regarded by the Persians as an integral part of their country and it took little urging to persuade Mohammed Shah to attempt its capture. In November, 1837, a Persian army led by the shah in person and accompanied by the Russian ambassador, appeared before Herat. The Afghans showed little competence and the city would soon have fallen had it not been for the presence of a young English officer, Eldred Pottinger, among the defenders, and the incapacity of the Persians themselves. Indeed but one vigorous assault was made, planned, it is said, by Count Simovich himself, and the siege of ten months is more conspicuous for its diplomatic intrigues than for its military exploits. The English envoy, M'Neill, had protested from the first, declaring the attack to be a breach of treaty stipulations. As a matter of fact the English action was in itself a violation of the treaty made in 1814, which promised English neutrality in case of war between Persia and Afghanistan. But the prevalent idea of the importance of Herat and the suspicion that Persian conquest would be but a step to Russian occupation, determined the Indian government to decisive action. An Indian force entered the Persian Gulf and seized the Island of Karak, while the new British envoy, Colonel Stoddart, by his firm attitude persuaded the shah, already discouraged, to raise the siege September 9, 1838. The Russian diplomacy had suffered a severe check. Count Simovich was recalled and his actions promptly disavowed by the Russian minister, Count Nesselrode. Relations between Persia and England remained strained till 1842, when a new mission headed by Sir John M'Neill arrived at Teheran, and the Island of Karak was evacuated. But meantime the Russians had taken advantage of the situation to seize the Island of Ashurada in the Caspian, thus completing their hold on the inland sea. Only one other event of note marked the reign of Mohammed Shah—the tragedy of Kerbela. The town of Kerbela, sacred to the Shiah as containing the tomb of Hosein and largely inhabited by Persians, had for some years maintained a semi-independent existence and defied the Turkish authorities. In 1843

the governor of Bagdad stormed the town and put to death 3000 persons, many of them innocent pilgrims. This massacre aroused the utmost horror and indignation in Persia, and war was only averted by the prompt apologies and offers of reparation on the part of the Turkish government. Mohammed Shah died in 1848. His reign represents another step in the general decay of Persia. The shah, a soldier of some repute in his youth, became inebile in later years and left the government entirely in the hands of the wretched Hajji Mirza, who plundered and oppressed the people at will, driving the few honest and capable officials into exile. Persia's military power had utterly collapsed since the death of Agha Mohammed; for the attempt to build up an efficient force trained in the European fashion, praiseworthy in itself, proved a failure, and the power of the tribes who furnished the victorious armies of Nadir Shah was now broken.

Mohammed was succeeded by Shah Nasr ud-din, whose long reign, 1848-1896, gave continual evidence of the decline of Persia. The new sovereign was seated on the throne by the assistance of Mirza Taki, the capable head of the army, who became vizir with the title of Amir un Nizam. The usual rising in Khurasan was, after an eighteen months' resistance, put down by the capture of Mashad and the execution of the rebel leader. Far more important and dangerous was the rise of a new fanatical sect, the Babis. This sect was founded by a dervish, Sad Ali Mohammed, who assumed the name of Bab (Arabic for gate), declared himself to be a prophet and preached a new doctrine founded on the mystic Sufism and combining elements of pantheism and extreme socialism. Driven from Bagdad, Sad Ali returned to Persia and gained such a following, especially among the educated classes, that the government was alarmed and declared the profession of Babism to be a capital crime. Bab was seized in 1848 and condemned to be shot in the great square at Tabriz. But by some chance he was not hit at the first discharge, and when the smoke of the volley had cleared away he was nowhere to be seen. If he had made good his escape a palpable miracle would have been wrought and Babism gained enormous prestige. But unfortunately for the cause he was soon recaptured and dispatched. The movement continued, however, in spite of fearful persecutions. The Babis rose in arms and at Zanzan a party maintained themselves for several months and died fighting to the last man. An attempt to

1852-1857

assassinate the shah in 1852 led to renewed persecution and a veritable reign of terror. Hundreds were put to death, some by frightful tortures, though offered their lives if they would repeat the Moslem creed, and such constancy ended by arousing pity and admiration. The sect still exists, especially among the upper classes, and the whole remarkable movement shows the weakening grip of Mohammedanism on the Persians, who are by nature mystics and schismatics.

A serious reflection on the character of Nasr ud-din is his treatment of the Amir un Nizam, to whom he owed his throne. Mirza Taki had risen from the lowest ranks by force of his own ability and had proved an excellent and faithful minister. But he made the mistake of treating his master as a cipher and so incurred the hatred of the harem party headed by the queen-mother. The shah was finally persuaded to dismiss him and he was shortly after lured from his wife's apartments, where he was safe, and put to death.

The chief external events of the reign of Nasr ud-din were the capture of Herat and the war with England. The old vizir of Herat, Yar Mohammed, had succeeded in deposing the Abdali princes in 1844 and assuming the power himself. His son professed to be a faithful subject of Persia and in 1852 Persian troops occupied the town, but withdrew at the demand of the English minister. The Crimean War, in which England stood as the champion of the hated Sunnite Turks, tended to alienate still further the Persians from the English. In 1855 new complications arose in Afghanistan, where the Abdalis had recovered Herat, while Dost Mohammed had seized Kandahar. The Persian government claimed that the aggrandizements of Dost Mohammed threatened their own frontier and again a Persian army occupied Herat, after some resistance, in October, 1856. At about the same time the British envoy, Charles Murray, after a long series of petty persecutions, left Teheran and retired to Bagdad. Fruitless negotiations at Constantinople between Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the Persian ambassador were brought to a close in November, when the Indian government declared war and a British expedition landed in the Persian Gulf and stormed Bushire. In January, 1857, Sir James Outram, with 5000 men, attacked and routed 7000 Persians at Kush-ab. Then turning northward he entered the vulnerable province of Arabistan, whence access was easy to the in-

terior. Outram landed at the mouth of the Karun River and the Persian commander, Prince Khalar Mirza, who had an army of 13,000 men, fled in disgraceful cowardice without striking a blow. The English advance was only checked by the news of the signature of a treaty of peace at Paris on March 4, 1858. By the Treaty of Paris, Persia agreed to evacuate Herat, relinquish all claims of suzerainty and to abstain from all further interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Herat was soon after taken by the English protégé, Dost Mohammed, and has since remained a part of the dominions of the amir of Afghanistan.

From this time on the reign of Nasr ud-din remained a peaceful one. Its chief features were the numerous schemes of reform always eagerly adopted and always quickly dropped by the government, and the steady continuance of the commercial and political duel between Russia and Great Britain for a dominant position at the Persian court. In 1872 a telegraph line to connect India with Europe was completed across Persia and opened under the management of the Indo-European Telegraph Company. The first railroad in Persia, a line five miles in length, from Teheran to Shah Abdul Azim, was opened in 1884. But when in 1889 Baron de Reuter, representing English interests, got a concession to establish an imperial bank with sole right to issue bank notes and with a certain mining monopoly, the Russians in turn received an exclusive concession to build railroads in Persia. Since then no railroads have been built and the little line at Teheran remains unique. Nasr ud-din made three visits to Europe and was everywhere hospitably received, but the result to Persia was nothing but a new drain on her finances. In 1896 the shah, who was about to celebrate the fiftieth (lunar) year of his accession, was assassinated by a Persian anarchist while praying at the shrine of Shah Abdul Aziz.

The new shah, Muzaffar ud-din, found the country in well-nigh desperate straits, due partly to an excessive coinage of copper which had raised prices and ruined trade, and partly to the state of chronic misgovernment. The debased coinage was withdrawn, though at heavy expense to the government; but the vizir, Amir ud Daulah, met with failure in his efforts to systematize the budget and to reorganize the revenue department. In 1898 the distressed government attempted to raise a loan in England. But the British government failed to rise to the opportunity, and private interests,

1898-1906

made shy by past failures of British enterprise in Persia, demanded the surrender of certain customs houses to their control. This demand, equivalent to an accusation of bankruptcy, could not be accepted without loss of prestige and the negotiations fell through. The Persians now turned to Russia in 1900 and instantly obtained far more favorable terms. A loan was made of 22,500,000 rubles (\$12,000,000) issue at 85 and bearing five per cent. interest, secured by a guarantee on all the customs save those collected in the Persian Gulf. Moreover the Russian government undertook to personally safeguard the interests of the bondholders. The result to Persia was the payment of old and pressing debts and a revival of trade due to the large increase of money put into circulation. The chief reform in the present reign, carried out by the popular vizir, Amin es Sultan, has been the abolition of the wretched system of farming the revenues and the organization of a regular customs service under Belgian control.

The important fact in the history of Persia for the last century has been the constant rivalry of England and Russia for control of that rapidly decaying state. Flanked on the east by Afghanistan and on the west by the Ottoman empire, two powers which, if not formidable, are hated by the Persians for racial and religious causes, Persia lies as in a vice between Russian pressure on the north and English pressure on the south. To appreciate the present status of these two powers, in whose hands lies the future of the land of Iran, we must retrace our steps and briefly recapitulate the events which have led to their establishment in the north and south of Persia.

The Persians have never been a seafaring people and the Persian Gulf, from the day when Nearchus, admiral of Alexander, sailed a Greek fleet into its waters, has never been an undisputed Persian possession. The Arabs, on the contrary, in the course of their expansion soon took to the sea, and on first entering Persia founded the city of Basra at the mouth of the Euphrates, the future port of Bagdad. Thence the Arab sailors carried their voyages to Africa and the Far East, and as early as the ninth century established regular trade relations with China. We read in the exploits of Sinbad the Sailor a marvelous picture of this phase of commercial expansion. Ormuz, long before the time of Albuquerque, was an Arab emporium and to this day the population of the gulf region is almost wholly Arab.

After the fall of the Portuguese supremacy in the days of Abbas the Great the foreign trade of the gulf was shared between the English and the Dutch. The rise of the English to a predominant position was greatly assisted by their friendly relations with the Seyyids of Muscat or Oman, the most powerful Arab state in that region. The Seyyid of Muscat in 1652 drove out the Portuguese and soon extended his rule over a large part of the Arabian and east African coasts. The immediate cause of British political intervention in the gulf was the necessity of protecting British commerce from the attacks of the Arab pirates who inhabit the so-called Pirate coast. In 1810 the governor of Bombay attacked them in alliance with Muscat, but the piracies were immediately resumed on the withdrawal of the fleet. In 1819-1821 new expeditions after meeting an extraordinary resistance finally resulted in the subjugation of the tribesmen. Henceforth a British squadron was kept in the gulf to suppress piracy and the slave trade, to preserve the *status quo* among the native chiefs, and to prevent all foreign encroachments. The rulers of Oman have always remained good friends of the English, but their power has of late declined. To-day the Persian Gulf is politically as well as commercially entirely in British hands. England's influence is paramount at Muscat, a British resident resides at Bushire, while the Pirate coast, the pearl island of Bahrein, and the port of Koweit are under her protection.

In northern Persia, on the other hand, the position of Russia is unquestionably predominant and apparently unshakable. We have seen how the Russian advance along the western shore of the Caspian, begun in the days of Peter the Great, ended in the Treaty of Turkmanchai, which established the Russian boundary within striking distance of the Persian capital and turned the Caspian into a Russian lake. All that was necessary to complete the Russian grip was a similar advance on Persia's eastern borders. The Russian territories in central Asia are divided by the topography of the country into two major divisions—Turkestan and Transcaspia or Turkomania. The Russian conquest of Turkestan need not detain us. Begun in 1812 by the invasion of the Kirghiz Steppe, it culminated in the eventful years 1865-1873 with the capture of Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khiva, which brought the Russians to the borders of Afghanistan.

The conquest of the Transcaspian region is of more immediate

1906

concern to the Persian problem. The region between the Caspian, the Sea of Aral, and the Oxus is largely a great and barren plain, with here and there stretches of more fertile country, such as the Oasis of Merv. This region was peopled by the Turkomans, semi-nomadic tribes of Turkish stock who lived largely by marauding and kept the rich province of Khurasan in continual alarm. Among these tribes the most powerful was that of the Tekkes, who held the great Akhul Oasis as well as that of Merv, resisting all Persian efforts to dislodge them or to suppress their forays. The Russian occupation of this region began with the establishment of Fort Novo Alexandrovsk on the Caspian in 1834. In 1869, Krasnovodsk,



now the chief port on the eastern side of the Caspian, was founded and by 1874 a province of Transcaspia had been set up. The Russians soon came into conflict with the Tekkes, but at first with little success. Three expeditions against the Turkoman fastness of Kizil Arvat proved failures, and in 1879 General Lomakin suffered a severe defeat at their hands. It was not till 1881 that the decisive blow was struck which established Russian rule throughout Turkomania. In January, 1881, General Mikhail Skobelev, the hero of Plevna, with 7000 men, stormed the Tekke fortress at Geok Tepe, where were assembled 35,000 men, women, and children, with 10,000 horsemen. No quarter was given by the Russians, who spared neither age nor sex. Nearly 20,000 persons were slain in the fort and during the pursuit, while the Russians lost barely 1000 men.

This butchery broke, or rather annihilated, the Turkoman power, and, strange as it may seem, the survivors of the massacre have become loyal subjects of the tsar. The victory of Geok Tepe brought Russia to the borders of Khurasan, which was henceforth freed from the scourge of Turkoman raiders. Askabad and Merv soon fell into Russian hands and the Muscovite position was definitely consolidated by the completion of the Transcaspian Railroad, which connects the Caspian with Turkestan, running close to the Persian border. As matters stand to-day, the richest of all the Persian provinces, Khurasan, lies practically in Russian hands, for, cut off as it is from Teheran by the vast deserts of central Iran, it is bound by the railroad closer to Russia than to Persia.

With so commanding a position along the Persian frontier, Russia has been able of late years to dominate the court of Teheran so completely that Muzaffar ud-din would seem to be little better than a vassal of the great northern power, which controls his finances, his court, and the organization of his army. Moreover, the trade of Persia, hitherto mostly in English hands, has now to be divided with the Slav. England and Russia control between them more than four-fifths of the foreign trade of Persia. In 1890, of a foreign trade worth \$37,500,000, England's share was \$15,000,000, Russia's only \$4,500,000. But in the last sixteen years matters have changed. By 1903 the Russian trade had risen to nearly fifteen millions, of which \$6,000,000 were exports from Persia, \$8,800,000 imports into Persia; while England's share was about eighteen millions, \$16,400,000 imports and \$1,400,000 exports. The Russian increase since 1890 had been 350 per cent., the English only 20 per cent. This vast expansion of Russian trade is due largely to the active interest of the government, which, by cheapening means of transport and by granting bounties, has enabled the Muscovite merchant to undersell his English rival throughout northern Persia, though England's hold in the south is still unshaken.

The most serious problem for Persian commerce, aside from the question of transport, is that of her balance of trade. Her imports are vastly in excess of her exports, and the result is a continual drain on the money wealth of the country. And the figures given above show Persia's trade with Russia is on a far sounder and more natural basis than that with England. While Russia buys from Persia almost as much as she sells, England sells to Persia twelve times as much as she purchases from her.



IN A PERSIAN CARPET BAZAAR

Painting by J. L. Gérôme

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1906

But Russia has not been wholly content with her position as actual ruler in Teheran and northern Persia. Her ambition has been here, as elsewhere, not so much to annex territory, as to carve her way southward to the open sea. It is even supposed that the port of Bander Abbas, which commands the entrance to the gulf and could with little expense be converted into a magnificent roadstead, has already been chosen by the Russians as their future naval station on the Indian Ocean. Such a plan, however, could never meet with British assent, for a Russian port on the Indian Ocean would be a more serious menace to India than even the presence of a Russian army in Herat. The sudden activity of England in the Persian Gulf since 1902, the occupation of Koweit, the visit of the viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, in 1903, and the definite statement of Lord Lansdowne in 1904, that England would tolerate no foreign naval station in that region, may be taken as an answer to the Russian challenge. To sum up—Russia controls to-day (1906) northern Persia, and her influence is supreme at Teheran; England has practically turned the Persian Gulf into a British lake, and her influence and commerce are still preponderant in the neighboring provinces.

As for Persia itself, over whose prostrate body the contest for empire and trade is being waged, her prospects for the future are of the darkest. Her position as an independent state rests on the zealous rivalry between two nations who might conceivably compromise on a partition of the country. But the chief causes of Persia's weakness lie in the inherently vicious character of her government and in the degeneration of her people. The greatest vice of Eastern tyrannies is that the prosperity and advancement of the nation depend not on the efficient organization of the government or even on the inherent capabilities of the people, but on the capacity of the sovereign for good or evil. This is peculiarly the case with Mohammedan countries like Persia, where true progress, as the western world understands it, is hindered at every step by the all-pervading narrow restriction of the religious law, whose provisions are inflexible and unable to meet new conditions as they arise.

The other factor to be considered, the character of the people, must not be neglected, for though the progress of an Eastern nation depends so largely on the ability of its rulers, still a vigorous people, however misgoverned, can, if not able to advance, at least offer sturdy resistance to the decay of their country. Thus it is that

China, wretchedly corrupt and misgoverned from our point of view, has in its vast population, sober, intelligent, and industrious, a marvelous source of strength and vitality. So it is that the Ottoman empire, despite continual dismemberments and constant internal disorder, is still a formidable power by virtue of the military capacity of its Turkish subjects. In Persia, however, the situation, rendered bad enough by chronic misgovernment and corruption which drain the resources of a country already poor by nature, is made infinitely worse by the evident decline in character of the mass of the people themselves, who in their loss of bravery and in the development of qualities of dishonesty and servility display all the symptoms of gradual degeneration. Reading Persian history in the light of its past, we cannot say that regeneration is impossible, but in the light of the present it seems at least improbable.

The history of Persia, stretching over more than twenty-five centuries, presents as varied and kaleidoscopic a picture as that of any nation. Conquered and ravaged by invader after invader, Assyrian, Greek, Parthian, Roman, Arab, Turk, Mongol, and Afghan, Persia has throughout displayed marvelous vitality and power of recuperation. Over all her conquerors she has extended the sway of her art, literature, culture, and traditions. Nothing can indeed be more striking than the persistent efforts of her foreign and often barbaric dynasties to connect themselves with the grandeur of her past and to pose as descendants of old national kings or heroes. Whatever her future may be, Persia can look back on a past more varied, more glorious, and, with perhaps one exception, more worthy of study than that of any other Asiatic nation.

Chapter V

THE GOVERNMENT OF PERSIA

OUR sketch of Persian history would scarcely be complete, nor will the conditions governing the present political status of Persia, as well as the political history of the past, be clearly understood without a glance at the organization of the Persian state.

Persia is to-day, as always, an absolute monarchy, under an autocrat whose authority has nominally no limits. In theory the shah has supreme power over his subjects, who hold their lives and their lands at his pleasure. His power and the reverence he inspires are well expressed by the empty splendor of his titles, once indeed far more expressive of actual conditions. He is shah in shah, king of kings, zill Ullah, the shadow of God, and kebla alam, center of the world. All the reins of government, as well as a large part of the administration of justice and the sole power of life and death, are concentrated in the shah's hands, and the people, as such, are entirely without voice in the government of their land. In fact, however, the power of the shah in these days is far more limited than that wielded by a Khusru or even an Abbas. The kings of the Safawi dynasty were, as descendants of Ali and the Twelve Imams, spiritual as well as temporal heads of the state and were regarded by the Shiahs as vicars of God on earth. But the present Khajar dynasty can make no such claims to personal sanctity or to hereditary succession to the kalifate, and has never enjoyed the position of spiritual headship of the Shiah faith. And so the prerogative of the modern shah is limited by the religious law, of which he is no longer the authoritative interpreter, as well as by the rules of customary usage set up by a long line of predecessors. Equally great in setting limits to his absolutism is the power of foreign opinion, very influential in the last century of Persian history, which has made a repetition of the tyranny of a Nadir or of an Agha Mohammed well-nigh impossible to-day.

In the administration of his vast authority the shah is assisted

by a grand vizir, a number of lesser vizirs, and by a council of state. The position of the grand vizir—the sadri azam—is one of vast authority and responsibility, for to him is frequently delegated the entire control of government down to the minutest details. The office, one common to most oriental nations from the earliest times, has, as we have seen, played a mighty part in Persian history, sometimes, as in the case of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, overshadowing royalty itself. Indeed, an able vizir in the reign of a weak monarch is frequently the actual ruler of the country. But the position, though splendid, is also most precarious. The vizir is constantly exposed to the intrigues of envious rivals in the court and the harem, and his authority rests solely on the whim of his royal master. The sadri azam is assisted in his manifold duties by numerous lesser vizirs, organized to-day on the model of European cabinets, but really mere heads of departments, responsible to the shah or the grand vizir. Such are the ministers of war (supar solar), of foreign affairs, of finance, and the powerful mustafi el mamalak or secretary of state, who controls the internal administration of the country.

For purposes of internal government, Persia is divided to-day, as from time immemorial, into provinces large and small, with governors who correspond closely to the satraps of Achæmenian or Sassanian days. The greater provinces, like Azerbaijan and Khurasan, are called mamlikat or kingdoms, and their governors, often princes of the blood royal, are called vali. The smaller provinces are called vilayets or eyalats. These provinces are again divided into districts, cities, and villages, with officials responsible to the provincial governors. The governor, like the satrap of old, is not only head of the administration, but also tax-collector for his district, paying a fixed sum to the crown and extorting what he can from the lesser officials, who in turn oppress the people. The governors sometimes hold their positions by hereditary right, but are more commonly appointed by the shah, and frequently changed lest their influence should become too great. An exception is the great province of Azerbaijan, which is always ruled by the heir to the throne. Among the minor officials who administer justice and collect the taxes are the mayors of the town, variously called haikim, beglar begi, or kalantars, and the village headmen, the kathodas, often nominated by the villagers themselves.

Distinct from the general organization is that of the nomad

tribesmen, Arabs, Turkomans, Kurds, Baluchis, and Lurs, who form more than a fifth of the population. These tribes, which to-day are becoming more and more settled in the land, are ruled by hereditary chiefs called ilkhans. They pay no regular taxes, giving tribute instead, and furnishing excellent irregular cavalry to the army.

Persian law, like that of all Mohammedan countries, is founded chiefly on the religious precepts of the faith. But here, as elsewhere, a customary law has grown up, drawn from ancient Persian and Tatar, as well as from Mohammedan, sources; with the result that there exist in the kingdom to-day two distinct and rival legal systems—the Shahr or religious law, and the Urf or secular law. The Shahr, the strictly religious law, is confined to-day chiefly to civil cases—questions of property, marriage, inheritance, and the like. Founded on the basis of the Koran and the precepts of the Twelve Imams, it is, naturally, administered by learned priests or mullas who in the large cities are appointed by the shah, with the title of sheikh ul islam or kadi. But these judges are not controlled by the secular power, and any man who by his learning reaches the high grade of mujtahid may administer the Shahr equally with the priests appointed by the shah himself. The chief of all these judges is the great mujtahid, generally the head of the priesthood at Kerbela, the sacred city of the Shiah. The Shahr differs from ordinary Mohammedan law inasmuch as it embraces besides the Koran the sayings of the Twelve Imams and the interpretations of a long line of Persian doctors of law. It forms a regular and explicit as well as extremely inflexible code, regulating every detail of life in the minutest manner, as well as more evidently legal matters. Over five hundred laws regulate questions of religious worship, while more than fourteen hundred deal with matters of marriage and divorce.

The Urf, or secular law, embraces all criminal matters, as well as many civil cases. It is administered by the government officials, and final appeals go to the divan or council of state, or to the shah himself, whose consent is necessary for all capital executions. Persian criminal law is in a curiously chaotic state, though attempts have been made to codify it, and it still contains many strange survivals of the past. Composition of offenses by heavy fine is frequently allowed, asylums of refuge for criminals still exist in certain holy places, and the right of private vengeance is sometimes

recognized. Punishment by mutilation and whipping is often substituted for imprisonment.

It is inevitable, under this dual system of law, that conflicts should frequently arise between the clerical and secular jurisdictions. Formerly the law was entirely administered by the mullas. But since the days of Nadir Shah the secular law has steadily encroached on the religious, and it has been the constant policy of recent shahs to limit the jurisdiction of the Shah as far as possible and to add all manner of cases to the jurisdiction of the Urf.

The success of the shahs in this direction is largely due to the nature of the religious organization of Persia, which presents in a marked degree the peculiarities of that of all Mohammedan countries. We must not forget that there exists no fixed priestly caste in Islam. The priests are merely the ulema, that is, men learned in the law, which, as has been noted, is thoroughly religious in its essence. In Persia, anyone capable of reading and expounding the Koran may act as a mulla or priest and officiate in religious ceremonies. Besides conducting religious services, the mullas serve as judges and as teachers in the colleges, which exist in every city and town of any size. When a priest becomes widely known for his learning and sanctity he is called mujtahid, a title gained not by appointment, but held in view of his general repute, though the mujtahids of the sacred cities of Kerbela and Nedjef give an official sanction to its assumption.

At the head of all the priesthood stands the Naib el Imam, the chief mujtahid of Kerbela, who is regarded by Shiahs as the successor of the imams and the vicegerent of the Prophet. He is, as we have seen, the chief interpreter of the religious law and final judge of all cases under it. His authority, though purely moral, is enormous and his influence is acknowledged by the shah himself. The shah has no authority over the ulema as such, but, as we have seen, he may appoint the sheikhs ul islam, and he frequently nominates the imams, or heads of the large mosques. In a country so thoroughly Mohammedan as is Persia, where Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians together form less than a fiftieth part of the population, the influence of the priesthood cannot but be important. But as a class they are not highly revered by the people, and the whole influence of the government has been steadily devoted to limiting their authority.

THE OPENING OF TIBET

THE CURRENCY QUESTION IN INDIA,
AND
FAMINES OF INDIA

BY GEORGE M. DUTCHER, PH. D.,
Professor of History, Wesleyan University

The Opening of Tibet

TIBET is the lofty tableland north of the Himalayas in which are the headwaters of such great rivers as the Indus and the Brahmaputra of India, as the Mekong, and the Salwin of Indo-China, and as the Yangtse and the Hoang of China. Its extent is not definitely known, but it may be roughly fixed at about 463,200 square miles with a scanty population of perhaps 6,430,000. The country is under the nominal suzerainty of China, and the most important part of it was under the direct rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa and his nine ministers, five priests and four laymen, assisted by the Chinese amban or resident. The real power seems to have been lodged in a sort of prime minister, the De-sri, for the Dalai Lama has rarely attained to years of manhood, though the last was about twenty-eight years of age at the time of his flight from Lhasa.

The indigenous religion of Tibet, which still persists to some extent, was Shamanism. Buddhism was introduced in the seventh century and gradually became prevalent in the form of Lamaism. The title of "Dalai Lama," literally "ocean lama," popularly called "the grand lama," is of comparatively recent origin, dating from about 1600.

The tide of history has flowed around Tibet and left it in an almost perpetual isolation. Prior to 1800 several Europeans visited Tibet and even Lhasa itself, but since that date only a few travelers have penetrated the country, and scarcely any of these have reached Lhasa. The chief resources of Tibet are probably its untouched wealth of gold and other minerals. Its total trade has been insignificant, that with India scarcely amounting to a half million dollars annually.

The first Englishman to enter Tibet was George Bogle, who was sent by Warren Hastings, in 1774, to the Tashi Lama at Shigatse. He was well received, but Samuel Turner met with less

¹ It seems desirable to give a somewhat fuller statement than is possible in the History of India concerning Tibet and the circumstances which led to the sending of the Younghusband mission.—EDITOR, *June 26, 1906.*

success in 1783, and after his expedition the Tibetans began the policy of rigorously guarding their southern frontier against passage by foreigners. Thomas Manning, the Chinese scholar and the friend of Charles Lamb, visited Lhasa in 1811, being the only Englishman to enter that city before 1904. Later, two French Lazarist missionaries, Huc and Gabet, reached Lhasa in 1846, being the last Europeans to visit that city prior to 1904. The most notable of the later explorers of Tibet have been the Russian Nikolai Mikhailovitch Przhevalski, the American William Woodville Rockhill, and the Swede Sven Anders Hedin. Most important in some ways were the two journeys of a native of India, Sarat Chandra Das, who visited Lhasa in 1883, and made extensive and valuable reports to the Indian government.

Since the days of Warren Hastings, and until recently, the interests of the English in India have touched those of Tibet only incidentally. The relations of the English in the Pamirs, in Kashmir, in Nepal, in Bhutan, and especially in Sikkim, have brought the English and Tibetans into a series of relations which have made a neighborly understanding necessary, especially in the presence of Russian activity in central Asia. Over the series of Himalayan border states, the Dalai Lama claimed a certain suzerainty, which amounted to little more than occasional payments of tribute at Lhasa and Peking. Some references to the history of these various states and of their relations with the British have been made in the history of India, and here attention will be confined to Sikkim, as the little country through which the main route to Tibet passes, and in which have occurred clashes between the English and the Tibetans. By the terms of the treaty with Sikkim in 1861, the construction of a road from Darjiling, now the rail head, to the Jelap-la—"the lovely level"—Pass, the most practicable of the passes into Tibet, was permitted. Nothing else worthy of note occurred until 1886, when England arranged to send Colman Macaulay on a mission to Tibet. China agreed to assist the mission, which had gathered at Darjiling ready to start when it became apparent that the Tibetans would refuse to receive it, and so, at China's urgent request, it was countermanded. This affair showed the British that, in spite of all assurances, China and Tibet were playing off one against the other for the direct purpose of keeping the British out of Tibet. The countermanding of the Macaulay mission was followed by a Tibetan invasion of Sikkim.

In 1888 an expedition under Colonel Thomas Graham repulsed the invasion and occupied Chumbi, the little valley beyond the Jelap-la wedged in between Bhutan and Sikkim. These troubles were terminated by the visit of one of the Chinese ambans to Calcutta and the signature of a treaty on March 17, 1890, defining the Sikkim frontier as the Himalayan watershed, and renouncing all Chinese or Tibetan claims on Sikkim. Other articles of the treaty provided for a joint commission to arrange the details of commercial intercourse between Tibet and India, and to adjust certain other matters. Although a supplementary agreement was signed in 1893, repeated British efforts failed to secure the execution of the various articles of the treaty. This, with the new problems which arose, made it essential that the British should secure a clear definition of their relations with Tibet. In 1902 the government of India gladly accepted a suggestion of the Chinese government to effect a settlement of the Indo-Tibetan questions, and it was agreed that an English agent should meet Chinese and Tibetan representatives at Khamba-jong, on the Tibetan side of the frontier. In accordance with this agreement, the English mission, headed by Major Younghusband, arrived at Khamba-jong in July, 1903.

In the meanwhile, events had occurred which made the settlement of the Tibetan question not simply desirable, but an urgent necessity. Ever since the settlement of the Afghan frontier questions, Russia had quietly but persistently pushed her designs against the feudatory provinces of the Chinese empire, and under the cover of the Boxer rising in 1900 seemed about to accomplish her purposes. Her success in Manchuria seemed complete until Japan interposed. Of Russia's doings in Mongolia, eastern Turkestan, and Tibet much less is known, but of her activity and of the general nature of her designs there is little doubt. Apparently Russia intended to reserve these vast regions, together with Manchuria, as her sphere of influence in China. To prosecute her designs in Tibet Russia worked through the Buriats, who live in the vicinity of Lake Baikal and who were spiritual subjects of the Dalai Lama. The central figure in these schemes was the Buriat Dorjiev, who appeared under various names. Dorjiev had gone to Lhasa in early life and entered the Bebung Monastery, and had risen to a position of some importance therein. After many years he was sent among his own people in 1898 to collect con-

tributions for the Lhasan hierarchy. It was during this visit that he was discovered by the Russian authorities and at once induced to become a Russian agent at Lhasa. On his return to Lhasa, he had little trouble in winning the Dalai Lama to his schemes, but he found that the rest of the hierarchy were stubbornly opposed to all such outside intervention and influence. Nevertheless, Dorjiev and the Dalai Lama were able to go far. Dorjiev bore presents from the Dalai Lama to the tsar at St. Petersburg, and on his return brought presents of no less significance from the tsar to the Dalai Lama, and an agreement, not a formal treaty, between the tsar and the Dalai Lama. The Chinese amban protested at these doings and opposed Dorjiev at every step, as did also the Lhasan hierarchy in general. It was about December, 1901, when Dorjiev returned to Lhasa with the tsar's presents and the proposed agreement. From that time onward he and the Dalai Lama worked in full accord to promote the Russian interests to the direct despite of both China and England, and in face of the determined opposition of the great monasteries to all dealings with the foreigners. Russian arms were imported into Tibet and other measures of a similar sort prosecuted. Dorjiev even boasted that in the spring of 1903 Cossacks would be in Lhasa. It was these facts which made the Younghusband mission and its success a necessity for the government of India. The history of this mission and its results have been recorded in the main part of this volume, and all of these events seem to make it clear that the British policy in Tibet must at least for a long time be carried out on lines closely analogous to her Afghan policy, though there are some important differences. As no British agent is maintained at Kabul, so none will be stationed at Lhasa. No railroads or other modern means of communication will be introduced. England will not intervene in the internal affairs of either country and she will not allow any other power to acquire any interest whatsoever in Afghanistan or Tibet. The analogy breaks down at some points, as in the matter of commerce, and also because of the ecclesiastical situation in Tibet and because of the Chinese suzerainty over the country.

Economically Tibet can never have any important relations with Russia. Tibet's trade must, in the nature of things, be with India, or with that part of China in which England is commercially supreme. Geographical conditions make intercourse between Tibet and India very much simpler than with any actual or pos-

sible Russian territory to the west or north, so that not only commercially, but also strategically, England, and not Russia, is most interested in the fate of Tibet. England's interest in Tibet is a double one, for her commercial position in China, as well as her empire in India, must be safeguarded. England must have the open door in China as the simplest method of maintaining her commercial supremacy there, and to make it secure and of effective value she must prevent Russia from tampering with the back door of China, for a Russian position on the upper Yangtse-Kiang would be a perpetual menace to England's commerce in that valley. Russia is not now prepared to meet England in an economic struggle, but she might hope to reserve for herself a vast central Asian empire from which England and other powers should now be excluded in order that Russia may exploit it in the future.

The religious question is not less important than the commercial. The Dalai Lama as Buddhist pope has some Russian subjects in Siberia and his alliance would be invaluable to Russia in the prosecution of her designs upon the Chinese empire. England has nearly ten million Buddhist subjects, chiefly in Burma, and to her Buddhist influence is also important, owing to the large Buddhist population of her ally Japan, and of that part of China which interests England most. Both for the sake of subjects and allies, and for imperial and economic reasons, England must deal just as delicately with Buddhist susceptibilities as with Mohammedan.

Not only native susceptibilities, but also native prejudices and fancies, must be considered. Asiatics only respect a power that compels respect. Had England failed to take up the Sikkim and Tibet business, and clear it up, she would have lost prestige, not only in India, but throughout the East for having submitted to being snubbed. Having taken up the Tibetan question England must now see the thing through, cost what it may. Fortunately, Lord Curzon's policy, which has proved so successful on the north-west frontier, seems to be thoroughly fitted for the Tibetan frontier as well, that is, the defense of the frontier and of all Indian interests, the maintenance of friendly relations with the neighboring country and non-interference in its internal affairs, and the exclusion from the buffer state of all foreign influence. Tibet is not an impossible field for military operations, but is an exceedingly impracticable one, the more so toward the north than in the south,

so that it is more important for England to exclude Russian diplomacy and arms from Tibet than it is for Russia to exclude England.

The commercial clauses of the Tibetan treaty will give India easy access to Tibetan markets, and a practical monopoly of them, for India can supply everything Tibet needs more promptly and cheaply than even China, for the transport distance from India is only one-fifth, or even one-tenth, that from China. This will above all affect the trade in tea, which Tibet now obtains entirely from China, whereas India could furnish a better grade much more easily and therefore more cheaply. The commercial privileges of India in Tibet under the treaty will make desirable the establishment of good roads as trade routes. The political and the possible military considerations also dictate a policy of road building to the most practicable passes into Tibet, and as far beyond the frontier as possible.

In regard to the question of the integrity of China, England may extend her influence effectively over Tibet without in any wise offending the United States and the other powers which desire to guarantee the integrity of China, but, even were it not so, it would be open to England to say that the principle of the integrity of China is intended to apply only to China proper, and not to the tributary states of the empire. Neither is the policy of the open door really affected. No doubt the United States will be able to send goods into the Tibetan markets as she did into Manchuria. Americans will also be interested in Tibet from a missionary standpoint. For years the missionary societies, Catholic and Protestant, have looked forward to the opening of Tibet, and will be ready at the earliest possible moment to work their way in, both from India and from China. Already missionaries have studied the Tibetan language and a Moravian has published a Tibetan grammar and a dictionary.

The Currency Question in India

DURING the eighteenth century and following the breakup of the old Mogul empire, there were a large number of different native coinage systems existing in India, some of great, some of trifling importance. There were, also, some European and other non-Indian coins in circulation. When the East India Company began to coin money, it adapted its system to native, and not to British, standards. In Bengal the Company noticed that the rupee most in circulation was that of the nineteenth year of the reigning Mogul emperor, and, accordingly, from 1793 to 1818, rupees of that type, and bearing that date, were coined by the Company in Bengal. These rupees, known as siccas, that is sikka rupees, literally newly-coined rupees, weighed 179.666 grains, having 175.923 grains of pure silver. In 1818 the weight was changed to 191.916 grains, and in 1833 the amount of pure silver was changed to 176 grains. These various siccas were superseded in 1835 and ceased to be legal tender on January 1, 1838. Beginning in 1835 the Company coined for all of its Indian possessions rupees weighing 180 grains and containing 165 grains of pure silver. To find the value of a sum of siccas in the new or Company's rupees, add one-fifteenth of the sum. In 1835 there were found to be in circulation in India rupees of 300 different coinages. As intercourse was slow between England and India until that time, and as the commercial transactions were almost entirely in the Company's hands, questions of exchange were of comparatively small importance. Down to 1835 a rupee may be roughly reckoned as equivalent to an average of 27 pence, or 55 cents.

From 1835 to 1893 the nominal value of the rupee was 24 pence, or 50 cents. For exact comparison the rupee weighed 180 grains, of which 165 were pure silver; the English florin of 24 pence weighs 174.535 grains, of which 161.445 are pure silver; and the American 50-cent piece weighs 192.9 grains, of which 173.61 are pure silver. Since the rupee was the practical equivalent of the florin and hence to be reckoned at ten to the pound sterling,

the custom arose of keeping accounts not in sums of rupees (*e. g.*, rs. 555,000), but in tens of rupees, which was equivalent to pounds sterling (*e. g.*, rx. 55,500, or 55,500*l.*). The Indian method of numerating rupees is rs. 44,33,22,111, which would be read 44 crores, 33 lakhs, 22,111 rupees. From 1835 to 1873 the exchange value, now become a matter of commercial and financial importance, fluctuated around the nominal value of 24 pence to the rupee. The highest average rate for any one year was 26.035 pence in 1860-1861, and the lowest, 21.094 in 1848-1849. During twenty-four of the thirty-six years from 1837-1838 to 1872-1873 the rate was between 23 pence and 25 pence.

The formation of the Latin Union for coinage by most of the countries of southern Europe in 1865, the coinage legislation of the new German empire in 1873, and of the United States in the same year, were events with a temporal, if not a causal, relation to the decline in the price of silver, which began about 1873. Later important events in the history of the silver question were the Bland Silver Act of 1878 and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 in the United States, and the fruitless meeting of the International Monetary Conference at Brussels in 1892. The effect of these last two events would seem to be reflected in the rate of exchange: in 1889-1890 the rupee averaged 16.566 pence; in 1890-1891, 18.089 pence; in 1891-1892, 16.733 pence; and in 1892-1893, 14.985 pence. Both the United States and India, the two countries most affected by the silver question, were forced to take prompt measures. The United States repealed the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act on November 1, 1893; while in India a royal commission to inquire into the financial situation, which had been appointed before the Brussels Conference, made its report on May 31, 1893, and, on June 26, its recommendations were enacted as law. This Coinage Act provided for the maintenance of the rupee at the fixed value of 16 pence (32.4 cents), for the use of English gold coins in India at the legal rate of 15 rupees to the pound sterling, and for the closing of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver. The makeshift character of this legislation was shown almost at the moment by the provision made by the government of India to pay a depreciation allowance, in addition to the nominal salaries. The rate of exchange also exposed the futility of the measures, for in 1894-1895 the rupee was only worth 13.101 pence. Further, it seems that the closing of the Indian

mints to silver was followed by the emission of a large amount of counterfeit rupees, which, however, were of correct weight, fineness, and die, and so could not be detected.

The failure of the legislation of 1893 led to the appointment of a second Royal Commission to inquire into the Indian finances in 1895. Legislation, based upon its report, was enacted on September 15, 1899. The English sovereign was made a legal tender in India and the Indian mints were opened to the free coinage of gold. Previous to this time the government had recognized no gold coin minted in India as a legal tender, though from 1835 onward the Company had coined mohurs, valued at 15 rupees, as the ratio existed in 1835. It may be added that notes, ranging in value from 5 rupees to 10,000 rupees, are in circulation in India, under the legislation drawn up by James Wilson, the finance member of Lord Canning's council.

In conclusion it should be said that the silver question was not a purely Indian question, but a question of world finance, and its development and settlement have been the result, not so much of legislation, as of the relative size of the world's accumulation of gold and silver, and the amount of annual production of each metal. The opening of the new and extensive gold fields of the Transvaal and the Klondike have had an important effect on the situation. The action of India, in adopting the gold standard, was practically followed by the United States by the Act of March 14, 1900; and other nations and colonies took similar action at about the same time, so that now nearly every country of importance is on the gold basis. Under these conditions, the legislation of 1899 has proven successful, and will, no doubt, continue to do so.

The following table of the Indian currency gives the present legal English equivalents, and the approximate American equivalents.

3 pie	=	1 pice	=	1 farthing	=	$\frac{1}{4}$ cent
4 pice	=	1 anna	=	1 penny	=	2 cents.
16 annas	=	1 rupee	=	16 pence	=	32.4 cents.
15 rupees	=	1 pound	=	1 pound	=	\$4.83 $\frac{2}{3}$

Famines of India

THE primary cause of famine in India is the failure of the monsoons and the consequent failure of the crops, either partially or totally, over a larger or smaller area. The secondary and contributing causes of the suffering produced by the famine are numerous and complicated. Undoubtedly, the denudation of the forest lands has affected the rainfall and the consequent area of productive soil. Antiquated, inefficient, and wasteful methods of tillage are in some measure responsible. A factor of prime importance is the complex social and economic status which has produced an overcrowding of population in the cultivated districts, while a large portion of the cultivable land of India remains unredeemed from the jungle. This is a double evil, for not only is much tillable land left unproductive, but the population dependent upon any one district of cultivated land is so great that the slightest shortage of crops results in scarcity of food. The construction of extensive irrigation works in recent years has both increased the cultivated area and insured a more reliable water supply for a large area where the rains may fail. The government is wisely giving full attention to this method of insurance against famine.

The population of India is increasing rapidly, the more so since British rule has put a complete stop to the wars which once devastated India, and also to brigandage, widow-burning, infanticide (especially of females), and other conditions and customs which were destructive of life. To the changed social and economic conditions created by British rule the people are very slow in adapting themselves. Eighty per cent. of the people of India still depend upon agriculture for their livelihood, so that in time of drought they are thrown out of work and have no other means available of earning their support, except as the government opens relief works.

The land systems vary greatly in the different parts of India, so that the agrarian question is a very complex one, and the government has not yet succeeded in effecting a just and equitable settlement of the problems in all the different provinces. As a

large part of the revenue is drawn from the land, the question of the adjustment of the burden of taxation has an intimate relation with the conditions which produce famine, though it is a curiously absurd piece of special pleading to charge the cause of famine suffering, entirely or even to a considerable degree, to over-taxation, or to inequality of assessment. Until recently the money lenders have been able to fleece the needy agriculturists, unhampered by any checks, but within the last few years the government has attempted to place a limit upon their exactions, and has considered establishing a system of land banks. The correct adjustment of the land revenues and the land laws should be supplemented by measures encouraging migration and the opening up of the untilled lands.

Famines have ceased to exist in Europe, wherever railroad and steamer communication has been opened, and it has naturally been expected that a similar result would follow in India, and for that reason enormous sums have been spent, especially, in developing the railway system. The Orissa famine owed its disastrous results to the lack of the means for transporting the surplus stores of the neighboring provinces to the sufferers. The extension of the railway system has really resulted in decreasing the acuteness of the famine in any one locality, but it has at the same time resulted in increasing the scarcity area, because it has given the grain merchants the ability to control prices so that famine prices in one locality lead naturally to higher and even to scarcity prices in the adjoining districts. Obviously a law fixing maximum prices cannot be enforced in India, and least of all by an English government. The opening of easy means of communication does not solve the problem, even though food supplies at normal prices were introduced, because of the habits of the people. In whole districts the people are rice eaters and might starve to death with carloads of wheat standing beside them, because of ignorance of methods of preparation of the food, or even from prejudice against the unknown article. Other districts depend upon wheat, or millet, as the staple of life, and to them rice is equally useless, until they are taught its value and how to use it. Naturally a large portion of the famine mortality is among the infants and small children. Famines, also, are responsible for retarding the birth rate. The stringency of the caste system and the customs requiring the seclusion of women prevent the highest efficiency in any sys-

tem of relief. Flood, pestilence, and other calamities may also contribute to cause famine suffering.

No doubt there was also some justice in the statement that the famines at the close of the nineteenth century were money famines, rather than food famines, for certainly the currency question, which perplexed the government down until 1899, did affect trade conditions, and required increased taxation so that the masses of the people were not in the most favorable position to weather the period of scarcity. The "hard times" which pinched the American people in the years following 1893 starved the people of India. So deep is the poverty of India that 40,000,000 of its population never have enough to eat.

The frontier policy pursued by the Indian government from Lord Lytton's administration through Lord Elgin's laid unduly heavy burdens upon the taxpayers of India, and, while the result of this policy will probably be the improvement of India's condition as well as of its political position, it is certainly no injustice to say that this policy was in some degree responsible for the famine suffering since Lord Lytton's time. From a European standpoint, India is not overtaxed, for in British India the taxes amount to about 80 cents a head annually, while the national government in the United States costs annually more than \$5.00 for each individual, and, when the cost of state and local government is added, it amounts to \$15.00 a head. Against this fact, however, must be placed a comparison of the per capita wealth and the per capita incomes of the people of India and those of other countries, and then it appears clearly that India is supporting a government expensive out of proportion to the wealth of the population. In justice it should be remembered that neither heavy taxation nor the famines are, to any serious extent, the result of wrong governmental policies, but are the result of a combination of physical, social, and economic conditions, which the government is honestly endeavoring to remedy and which no government could possibly correct except after the lapse of a long period. In other words, India is suffering because she could not, on the instant, be transformed from an Asiatic state and people, to a European basis of civilization and life.

The fatality of famines is also largely increased by cholera and other diseases, which the weakened famine sufferers are unable to withstand. The drought frequently kills off the work-cattle, so

that there are no draught animals available for transporting food away from the railway during the famine, or to assist in tilling the soil when the rains come again. This was especially true during the 1899-1900 famine.

In 1883 the so-called famine code was promulgated, and, after the 1897 famine, a commission in 1898 revised the local famine codes. The management of the relief work was more successful and satisfactory in the 1897 and 1900 famines than ever before. Not counting periods of scarcity, there have been twenty-two serious famines in India since 1770, ten of these since 1858, and they have cost probably 15,000,000 lives.

In order to relieve the sufferers from the famines, the victims are gathered in relief camps at places to which supplies may be easily transported, and all who are able to work are employed on relief works, formerly mostly railroads, now chiefly irrigation works, so that in fighting a famine measures are taken to prevent its recurrence. The laborers on the relief works are paid in money, a minimum rate which enables the individual to buy enough food for himself and those dependent upon him. The government not only helps the victim while the famine lasts, but helps to put him on his feet again when it is over, by furnishing him work-cattle, implements, and seed, and even by making loans. The relief work of the government is supplemented by private charity, especially by the missionaries who devote especial care to the friendless orphans. This is, incidentally, excellent policy for the missionaries, for over these children they have unhampered control and readily make converts of them when they reach mature age.

The system of famine insurance, introduced under Lord Lytton, was excellent in theory. It was estimated that the cost of famines to the government of India averaged about 1,500,000*l.* annually. It was, therefore, planned to raise that amount annually by taxation, over and above the ordinary revenue. This was to make the fat years pay for the lean ones. The sum was regularly raised, but frequently diverted to uses that required a wild imagination to describe as famine relief, or famine insurance measures. In the long run the matter has squared itself, owing to the enormous cost of such famines as those of 1897 and 1900. Still it was an unwise policy to raise a fixed annual sum for famine insurance and to spend it for objects that are not clearly relief or insurance measures.

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INDEX

INDEX

A

- Abbas (I) the Great, shah of Persia: reign of, 343
- Abbas II, shah of Persia: reign of, 347
- Abbas III, shah of Persia: reign of, 351
- Abbas Mirza: his campaign against the Georgians, 358; defeated by the Russians, 359
- Abbasside Dynasty: condition of Persia under, 326
- Abbott, James: associated with the Lawrences in India, 223
- Abdul Karim: gives lessons in Hindustani to Queen Victoria, 287
- Abdur Rahman Khan: proclaimed amir of Afghanistan, 258; death of, 287
- Abu Bekr, Mohammedan kalif: accession of, 322
- Abul Fazl: sketch of, 114
- Adams, Major: his campaign against Mir Kasim, 187
- Addiscombe: military school maintained at, 202
- Aden: sketch of, 18
- Adil Shahi Dynasty: founded, 106
- Afghan, Frontier Commission: appointed (1884), 265
- Afghan War, 256
- Agha Mohammed, shah of Persia: revolt of, 355; reign of, 356
- Agra: captured by Lake, 201
- Ahmadabad: labor troubles of, 78
- Ahmad Khan, Persian ruler: reign of (1282-1284), 335
- Ahmad Khan: separates Afghanistan from Persia (1747), 354
- Ahmad Shah Durani: invades India, 127; sketch of, 216
- Ahmadnagar: captured by Wellesley, 201
- Aitchison, Sir Charles Umpherston: sketch of, 203; head of Civil Service Inquiry Commission, 267
- Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1748), 179
- Ajit Singh, prince of Rajputana: asserts his independence of Mogul empire, 126
- Akbar the Great: birth of, 110; reign of, 110
- Akbar, son of Aurangzeb: rebellion of, 122
- Ala-ad-din Mohammed, Persian ruler: provokes quarrel with the Mongols, 334
- Ala-ud-din, king of Delhi: career of, 99
- Albert Victor, Prince of Wales: visits India, 273
- Albuquerque, Alfonso de: his voyage to India, 148; made viceroy of the Indies, 149
- Alexander VI, Pope: issues the Bulls of Demarcation, 146; grants bull to king in Portugal, giving him authority in the East, 148
- Alexander the Great, king of Macedon: invades India, 67
- Alexander, Georgian prince: revolt of, 358
- Alexandria: becomes mart of Indian trade, 140
- Alexandria: see Uchh
- Ali, Mohammedan kalif: reign of, 326
- Ali Murad, shah of Persia: reign of, 355
- Ali Vardi, nawab of Bengal: defeats the Bhonslas, 133; usurps the throne, 182
- Aligarh: battle of (1803), 201
- Aliwal: battle of (1846), 221
- Almeida, Francisco de: made viceroy of the Indies, 148
- Alp Arslan the Conquering Lion, king of Persia: reign of, 330
- Altamsh, king of Delhi: reign of, 97

Amboyna: massacre of (1623), 154, 162;
annexed to British empire, 205

Amherst, William Pitt Amherst, Baron:
his governor-generalship of India,
209

Amiens, Treaty of (1802), 197

Amphill, Arthur Villiers Russell,
Baron: acting governor-general of
India, 302

Amr ben Leis, Mohammedan ruler:
reign of, 328

Amru Ibn al Aasse, (Amru ben al-
Ass): refuses to recognize Ali as
kalif, 326

Andaman Islands: description of, 17

Antioch: siege of (543 A.D.), 319

Antiochus (II) Theos, king of Syria:
concludes treaty with Asoka, 71

Arcot: siege of (1751), 180

Ardashir (Artaxerxes) I, king of Per-
sia: founds dynasty, 315

Argaum: battle of (1803), 136

Arghun, Persian ruler: reign of, 335

Artaxerxes: see Ardashir

Aryans: in India, 36

Ashraf, Afghan king: reign of, 350

Asiatic Trading Company: organized,
174

Aslanduz: battle of (1810), 359

Asoka, king of Magadha: accepts Bud-
dhism, 60; concludes treaty with
Antiochus II, 71

Assada: founded, 164

Assada Merchants: see Courten's Asso-
ciation

Assassins: organization of, 332

Assaye: battle of (1803), 136, 201

Athaide, Luis de: viceroy of the Indies,
151

Atharva-Veda: rise of, 42

Auckland, George Eden, Earl of: his
governor-generalship of India, 215

Aungier, Gerald: governor of Bombay,
167

Auranzeb, Mogul emperor: usurps
throne, 120; reign of, 121

Australia: discovered, 154

Avitabile, General: trains the Sikh
army, 221

Ayerst, Lieutenant: murder of, 283

Ayub Khan: at war with the British,
258

Azad Khan: reign of, 355

B

Babar the Mogul: invades India, 109

Babis, The: founded, 362

Badajoz Conference, (1524), 146

Baffin, William: searches for the North-
west Passage, 156

Bagdad: siege of (1733), 351

Bahadur, Mogul emperor: reign of,
125

Bahadur, Sayyid Ammad Khan: founds
the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental
College, 256

Bahadur, Sir Jang: assists in quelling
Mutiny, 238

Bahmani, Kingdom of: rise of, 105

Baillie, William: defeated by Haidar
Ali, 193

Bairam Khan: regency of, 111

Baird, Sir David: his campaign against
Napoleon, 197

Bakhtiyar Khilji: conquests of, 95

Baji Rao I, Maratha peshwa: reign of,
132

Baji Rao II, Maratha peshwa: reign of,
136; leads revolt of the Marathas,
208

Balaji Vishwanath: made peshwa, 132

Balaji Baji Rao, Maratha peshwa: reign
of, 133

Balban, king of Delhi: reign of, 98

Baluchistan: establishes peaceful rela-
tions with the British, 259

Baluchistan, British: organized, 266

Banda, Sikh leader: fate of, 126

Bankipur (Banky-bazaar): founded,
172; siege of (1733), 174

Bantam: captured by the Dutch (1682),
167

Barbour, David Miller: finance member
of the governor-general's council,
274

Barents, William: explorations of, 154

Barid Shahi Dynasty: founded, 106

Baring, Evelyn, Earl Cromer: sketch
of, 260

Baring, Thomas George, Baron North-
brook: see Northbrook, Thomas
George Baring, Baron

Barlow, Sir George Hilario: his gover-
nor-generalship of India, 204

Bassein: sacked by the Marathas
(1739), 152

Bassein, Treaty of (1802), 136, 200
 Bayezid, Persian ruler: defeated by Timur, 338
 Bayley, Sir Steuart Colvin: sketch of, 262
 Bayley, William Butterworth: acting governor-general of India, 212
 Baxar: battle of (1764), 126, 128, 135, 187
 Behar: conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji, (1199), 95
 Belisarius: his campaigns against the Persians, 319
 Bengal: separated from Madras, 165
 Bengal Company of Embden: organized, 174
 Bengal Rent Act (1885), 260
 Bengal Tenancy Act (1859), 244; (1885), 244
 Bentinck, Lord William Cavendish; removed from governorship of Madras, 204; governor-general of India, 212
 Berlin, Treaty of (1878), 256
 Bernard, Sir Charles Edward: sketch of, 264; made chief commissioner in Burma, 266
 Bethune, Sir Henry: establishes English influence in Persia, 360
 Better Government of India, Act for the (1858), 240
 Bhakta-Mala: description of, 80
 Bhartpur (Bhurlpore): sieges of (1805), 201; (1827), 212
 Bhils: description of, 28
 Bhilsa: plundered by Ala-ud-din, 99
 Bhurlpore: see Bhartpur
 Bhutan War, 247
 Bird, George Corrie: his campaign against the Waziris, 278
 Black Hole of Calcutta: story of, 182
 Blood, Bindon: sketch of, 279
 Bombay: ceded to England, 164
 Boscawen, Edward: besieges Pondicherry, 179
 Boughton, Gabriel: wins concessions for the English from governor of Bengal, 164
 Braganza, Constantino de: viceroy of the Indies, 151
 Brahma Samaj: rise of, 87
 Brahmans: rise of, 43, 76
 Brahmaputra: description of, 8

Brandis, Dietrich: father of Indian forestry, 7
 Brazil: discovery of, 147
 Brydon, William: survives the march from Kabul, 218
 Bubonic Plague: sketch of, 282
 Bucephala: founded, 68
 Buddha: rise of, 56
 Buddhism: in India, 56; in Burma, 65, 210
 Burma: description of, 16; Buddhism in, 65; sketch of, 210
 Burmese War, First, 210
 Burmese War, Second, 226
 Burnes, Sir Alexander: his mission to Afghanistan, 216; assassination of, 217
 Bushire: stormed (1856), 363
 Bussorah: founded, 322
 Buwayid Dynasty: reign of, 328

C

Cabot, John: searches for the Northwest Passage, 156
 Cabot, Sebastian: searches for the Northwest Passage, 156
 Cabral, Pedro Alvares: his voyage to India, 147
 Calcutta: founded, 166
 Calcutta, Black Hole of, 182
 Campbell, Colin, Baron Clyde: relieves Lucknow, 237; his campaign in Oudh, 238
 Campbell, Sir George: sketch of, 252
 Canning, Charles John, Earl Canning: his governor-generalship of India, 230
 Catherine II, queen of Russia: aids Georgia against Persia, 357
 Cape Colony: captured by the English, 197
 Carey, William: missionary efforts of, 171; professor of Sanskrit in College of Fort William, 202
 Cartwright, Ralph: opens English trade with Bengal, 163
 Caste: in India, 43, 78
 Castro João de: viceroy of the Indies, 151
 Cavagnari, Pierre Louis Napoleon: concludes treaty with the amir of Afghanistan, 257

- Cavendish, Thomas: circumnavigates the globe, 157
- Cawnpur: siege of (1857), 236
- Ceylon: Buddhism introduced, 61; conquered by the Dutch, 155; made a crown colony, 197
- Chaitanya: teachings of, 85
- Chait Singh, raja of Benares: rebellion of, 192
- Chalderan: battle of (1514), 341
- Chancellor, Richard: searches for the Northwest Passage, 156
- Chandarnagar: captured by Clive, 182
- Chand Bibi, queen of Ahmadnagar: frustrates Akbar's schemes for southern India, 113
- Chandra Gupta, king of Magadha: his relations with the Greeks, 69; reign of, 70
- Chang-lo: attack on (1904), 298
- Charaka: fame of, 48
- Charles VI, Holy Roman emperor: sends expeditions to India, 172
- Charnock, Job: obliged to desert factory at Kasimbazar, 166
- Chaul: battle of (1508), 148
- Chennapatam: see Madras
- Chera, Kingdom of: description of, 105
- Chesney, George Tomkyns: his plans for frontier defense, 269
- Child, Sir John: governor of Bombay, 167
- Child, Sir Josia: controls the company in London, 168
- Chilianwala: battle of (1849), 226
- China: Buddhism becomes the state religion of, 62
- Chinsurah: siege of (1759), 155
- Chitral: siege of (1895), 278
- Chitor: siege of (1303), 99
- Chitu: leads Pindari revolt, 208
- Choiseul or Choiseul-Amboise, Étienne François, Duke of: Louis XV intrigues against policy of, 180
- Chola, Kingdom of: description of, 105
- Chosroes: see Khusru
- Clarke, Sir Alfred: becomes acting governor-general of India, 196
- Clive, Robert, Baron Clive of Plassey: sketch of, 179; defends Arcot, 180; captures Calcutta, 182; made governor of Bengal, 185; second governorship, 187
- Close, Barry: resident in Mysore and Poona, 202
- Clyde, Colin Campbell, Baron: see Campbell, Colin, Baron Clyde
- Coblom (Covelong): founded, 172
- Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure (1861), 244
- Colbert de Croissi, Charles: organizes the French East India Company, 170
- Columbus, Christopher: attempts to discover India, 145
- Colvin, John Russell: secretary to Lord Auckland, 215; his services in India, 223
- Colvin, Sir Auckland: sketch of, 261
- Combermere, Stapleton Cotton, Viscount: his campaign in India, 212
- Company, The: see United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, The
- Company of the Philippine Islands, Royal: organized, 171
- Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, The: organized, 171
- Connaught, Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of: visits India, 288
- Conti, Nicolo: visits the East, 141
- Coote, Sir Eyre: at battle of Wandiwash, 180; his campaign against Haidar Ali, 193
- Coorg: annexed to English possessions in India, 215
- Cornish, Sir Samuel: captures Manila (1762), 181
- Cornwallis, Charles, Lord: governor-general of India, 195; his second governor-generalship, 204
- Cotton, Sir Henry: attempts to present report of Indian National Congress, 293
- Councils, Buddhist: the first, 59; the second, 60; the third, 60; the fourth, 61
- Couper, George Ebenezer Wilson: sketch of, 263
- Court, Colonel: trains the Sikh army, 221
- Courten's Association: formed, 158; makes settlements, 163; founds As-sada, 164
- Courten, Sir William: founds Courten's Association, 158

Covelong: see Coblom
 Covilham, Pedra da: visits India, 144
 Cowley, Henry Wellesley, Baron: lieutenant-governor of the Oudh cessions, 202
 Cradock, John, Lord Howden: causes mutiny at Vellore, 204
 Cromer, Evelyn Baring, Earl: see Baring, Evelyn, Earl Cromer
 Cunha, Nuno da: governor of the Indies, 150
 Currency Question, The, 383
 Curzon of Kedleston, George Nathaniel
 Curzon, Baron: his governor-generalship of India, 279; his second governor-generalship of India, 302

D

Dahæ: invade India, 73
 Dalhousie, James Andrew Brown Ramsay, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 222
 Daman: captured by the Portuguese, 151
 Damascus: taken by the Persians (615 A.D.), 320
 Damghan: battle of, 350
 Dane, Sir Louis: his mission to Kabul, 295
 Dara: death of, 121
 Daras: captured by the Persians (572 A.D.), 319
 Davies, Robert Henry: sketch of, 252
 Davis, John: searches for the Northwest Passage, 156
 Dawkins, Clinton Edward: finance member of the governor-general's council, 274
 Day, Francis: founds Fort Saint George, 163
 Deane, Sir Harold Arthur: chief commissioner of the Northwest Frontier Province, 286
 Deccan Agricultural Relief Act (1880), 256
 Defense, Treaty of (1619), 161
 Delhi: captured by Mohammed of Ghor, 95; battle of (1398), 104; adorned by Shah Jahan, 120; sack of (1736), 127; battle of (1804), 136; captured by Lake, 201; siege of (1857), 237
 Demarcation, Bulls of (1493), 146

Denison, Sir William Thomas: becomes acting governor-general of India, 244
 Doegiri: captured by Ala-ud-din, 99; captured by Malik Kafur, 100
 Dorjiev: Russian agent at Lhasa, 298
 Dost Mohammed: sketch of, 216; at war with Persia, 361, 363; death of, 247
 Dhulip Singh: recognized as raja, 221
 Diaz, Bartholomew: rounds the Cape of Good Hope, 144
 Dig: battle of (1804), 136
 Dilemite Dynasty: reign of, 328
 Disraeli, Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield: his Afghan policy, 256
 Diu: battles of (1509), 148; (1546), 151; siege of (1538), 150
 Djala-ud-din, Persian ruler: death of, 334
 Drake, Sir Francis: circumnavigates the globe, 156
 Draper, Sir William: captures Manila (1762), 181
 Duff, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant: sketch of, 263
 Dufferin, Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, Marquis of: his governor-generalship of India, 264
 Dufferin, Lady: her efforts in behalf of Indian women, 268
 Duplexis, Joseph François: sketch of, 178
 Durand, Algernon George Arnold: establishes British influence north of Kashmir, 278
 Durand, Henry Marion: military member of the governor-general's council, 248
 Durand, Sir Henry Mortimer: negotiates treaty with the amir of Afghanistan, 277
 Dutch: in India, 154

E

East India College: established at Haileybury, 202
 East India Company, Danish: founded, 171
 East India Company, Dutch: organized, 154
 East India Company, English: organized, 158; charter renewed (1813),

- 206; (1833), 214; (1853), 225; sketch of, 239
- East India Company, French: established, 169
- East India Company, Swedish: organized, 175
- Eden, Sir Ashley: sketch of, 203
- Eden, Emily: sketch of, 215
- Eden, George, Baron Auckland: see Auckland, George Eden, Earl of
- Edinburgh, Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of: visits India, 249
- Edmonstone, Neil Benjamin: foreign secretary for Wellesley, 202
- Edward VII, king of Great Britain and Ireland and emperor of India: visits India, 253; accession of, 288
- Edwardes, Herbert Benjamin: attempts to prevent outbreak in the Punjab, 225
- Egerton, Robert Eyles: sketch of, 263
- Elgin, James Bruce, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 244
- Elgin, Victor Alexander Bruce, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 274
- Ellenborough, Edward Law, Baron: his governor-generalship of India, 218
- Elles, Sir Edmond Roche: sketch of, 279; resigns as military member of council, 305
- Elliot, Gilbert, Earl of Minto: appointed governor-general of India, 205
- Ellis, Sir Barrow Helbert: sketch of, 251; negotiates Treaty of Teheran, 360
- Elphinstone, Mountstuart: envoy to Afghanistan, 205; his mission to Afghanistan, 216
- Elphinstone, William George Keith: sketch of, 218
- Erivan: battle of (1800), 358
- Etrick of Etrick, Francis Napier, Baron: see Napier, Francis, Baron Etrick of Etrick
- Eugene of Savoy, Prince: sends expedition to India, 172
- F
- Family Compact, 181
- Famines of India (1896-1900), 284
- Famines of India, 286
- Fatehpur Sikri: battle of (1527), 109
- Fath Ali, shah of Persia: reign of, 358
- Ferdousi (Firdausi): sketch of, 93, 329
- Fergusson, James: sketch of, 263
- Firdausi: see Ferdousi
- Firinghis: description of, 153
- Firozshah: battle of (1846), 221
- Firuz Shah Tughlak, sultan of India: reign of, 103
- Fitch, Ralph: visits India, 157
- Fitzgerald, Sir William Robert Seymour Vesey: sketch of, 252
- Forde, Francis: his campaign in southern India, 186
- Fort Saint David: see Tegnapatam
- Fort Saint George: see Madras
- Fort William, College of: founded, 202
- Fox, Charles James: introduces a new India bill, 194
- Francis, Philip: his opposition to Hastings, 189, 190
- Francis Xavier, Saint: inaugurates missionary efforts in the East, 151
- Frederick the Great, king of Prussia; attempts to secure Indian trade for Prussia, 174
- Frere, Sir Henry Bartle Edward: his administration of Sind, 223; introduces adhesive postage stamp in Sind, 224; accompanies Edward VII in his visit to India, 253
- Frobisher, Sir Martin: searches for the Northwest Passage, 156
- Fuller, J. B.: made lieutenant-governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 303
- G
- Gama, Vasco da: his voyages to India, 138, 146, 148; death of, 149
- Gandamak, Treaty of (1879), 257
- Ganges: description of, 8
- Ganges Canal: opened, 223
- Ganjeh: battle of (1827), 359
- Gardiner, Colonel: trains Sikh army, 221
- Gautama: see Buddha
- General Society: organized, 158
- Genghis Khan: invades India, 97; his conquests, 334
- Geok Tepe: siege of (1881), 367

- George, prince of Georgia: resigns crown to Russia, 358
- George Frederick, Prince of Wales: visits India, 309
- Getæ: invade India, 73
- Gibbs, James: sketch of, 262
- Gillespie, Colonel: suppresses Vellore mutiny, 204
- Ghats: description of, 15
- Ghazan Mahmud, Persian ruler: reign of, 336
- Ghazni: siege of (1839), 217
- Gheria: battle of (1763), 187
- Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, sultan of India: founds dynasty, 101
- Ghulan Mohammed, Prince: sketch of, 200
- Ghurin Khan: oppresses the Ghilzis, 348
- Goa: captured by the Portuguese (1510), 149; sieges of (1603), 152; (1639), 152
- Goddard, Thomas: in the first Maratha War, 193
- Gokhah: president of Indian National Congress, 293
- Gokteik Viaduct: construction of, 289
- Gonds: description of, 28
- Gordian, emperor of Rome: defeats Persians, 317
- Gough, Sir Hough: his services in the Opium War, 213; his campaign against the Sikhs, 221
- Great Indian Peninsular Railways: opened, 223
- Greeks: in India, 67
- Grey, Sir William: sketch of, 252
- Griffin, Lepel Henry: political agent at Kabul, 258
- Gujarat: conquered by Moguls, 113; battle of (1849), 226
- Gujarat, Kingdom of: early history of, 107
- Gulistan, Treaty of (1813), 359
- Gupta Dynasty, 74
- Gurkhas War, 207
- Guru: battle of (1904), 298
- Gualior: siege of (1780), 193
- Haffkine, Waldemar Mordecai Wolff: discoveries of, 282
- Hafiz (Lishan ul Ghaid): sketch of, 336
- Haidar Ali: attempts to expel English from India, 193
- Haidarabad (Patala): founded, 69
- Haileybury: East Indian College established at, 202
- Hajji Ibrahim: treachery of, 356
- Hajji Mirza Aghasi: under Russian influence, 360
- Halifax, Charles Wood, Viscount: see Wood, Charles, Viscount Halifax
- Hardinge, Sir Henry: his governor-generalship of India, 219
- Harris, George: at siege of Seringapatam, 200
- Harun al Raschid, Mohammedan kalif: reign of, 326
- Hasan, Uzum: conquests of, 339
- Hassan ibn as-Sabbah: sketch of, 332
- Hastings, Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Marquis of: his governorship of India, 206
- Hastings, Warren: attempts to compromise with Mir Kasim, 187; made governor of India, 189; impeachment of, 192
- Havelock, Sir Henry: his campaigns during the mutiny, 237
- Hawkins, William: envoy to the court of the Great Mogul, 160
- Heber, Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta, 206
- Hedges, Sir William: made governor of Bengal, 165
- Henry VII, king of England: sends out expedition to search for the North-west Passage, 156
- Henry the Navigator, Prince: enterprises of, 143
- Heraclius, Byzantine emperor: his wars in the East, 321
- Heraclius, prince of Georgia: reign of, 357
- Herat: battle of (1585), 343; sieges of (1832), 360; (1837), 216, 361
- Himalayas: description of, 5
- Himu: at battle of Panipat, 111
- Hinduism: growth of, 75
- Hiuen Tsiang: quoted on reign of Siladitza, 63; quoted on the court and people of Valabhi, 74

H

Habibulla, amir of Afghanistan: accession of, 287

- Hodson, William Stephen Raikes: sketch of, 238
- Holkar, Jaswant Rao: at war with the English, 201
- Hope, Sir Theodore Cracraft: sketch of, 262
- Hormuz: battle of (218 A.D.), 315
- Houtman, Cornelius: his voyage to India, 154
- Howden, John Cradock, Lord: see Cradock, John, Lord Howden
- Hudson, Henry: searches for the Northwest Passage, 156
- Hudson, Sir John: commands Indian troops in Soudan campaign, 259
- Hughes, Admiral: his campaigns in India, 194
- Hugli: growth of, 150
- Hulagu: captures Bagdad, 334
- Human Sacrifice: in India, 81
- Humayun, Mogul emperor: reign of, 110; receives aid from Tamasp I of Persia, 342
- Hume, Allan Octavian: supports the Indian National Congress, 270
- Hunter, Sir William Wilson: directs the Statistical Survey of India, 250
- Husein, shah of Persia: reign of, 347; death of, 350
- I
- Ibbetson, Sir Denzil Jelf: policy of, 282
- Ibn-Batuta: at the court of Mohammed Tughak, 141
- Ibert, Sir Courtenay Peregrine: sketch of, 262
- Ibert Act (1884), 261
- Imad Shahi Dynasty: founded, 106
- Impey, Sir Elijah: chief justice of India, 190
- Inayatulla Khan: visits Calcutta, 295
- India, History of: the country, 3; the people, 20; the non-Aryans, 25; the Aryans, 36; Buddhism, 56; the Greeks in India, 67; the Scythic inroads, 72; growth of Hinduism, 75; early Mohammedan conquerors, 88; the Mogul dynasty, 109; the Marathas, 130; early European settlements, 138; growth of British power, 178; the consolidation of British India, 204; the Sepoy Mutiny, 232; under the British crown, 242
- Indian Civil Service Act (1861), 241
- Indian Councils Acts (1861), 240; (1892), 271
- Indian High Courts Act (1861), 241
- Indian National Congress: first meeting of, 260; sketch of, 270, 293
- Indus, The: description of, 8
- Islam Shah, governor of Bengal: accession of, 110
- Ismail, Persian ruler: reign of, 341
- Ismail ibn Ahmad, Mohammedan kalif: founds Samanid dynasty, 328
- Ispahan: growth of, 344; siege of (1717), 349
- J
- Jafar Khan: see Murshid Kuli Khan
- Jaffnapatam: captured by the Dutch (1658), 155
- Jahangir (Salim), Mogul emperor: marriage of, 112; reign of, 117
- Jai Singh I: corrects list of stars, 47
- Jai Singh II: founds the city of Jaipur, 47
- Jaipal, chief of Lahore: at war with the Mohammedans, 91
- Jaipur: founded (1728), 47
- Jains, The: description of, 65
- Jalalabad: siege of (1841), 218
- Jalal-ud-din, king of Delhi: founds dynasty, 98
- Jama Masjid: built, 120
- Jang, Sir Salar: sketch of, 235
- Java: English conquest of, 205
- Jehlam: battle of (327 B.C.), 67
- Jenkinson, Anthony: travels of, 140; his mission to Persia, 342
- Jerusalem: taken by the Persians (615 A.D.), 320
- Jhansi: escheats to the British government, 229
- Johander Shah: reign of, 125
- John of Monte Corvino: his career in the East, 142
- Juafir, shah of Persia: reign of, 355
- Juangs (Patuas): description of, 29
- Julian the Apostate, emperor of Rome: invades Persia, 318

Jumeyd: power of, 340
 Jumna: description of, 8
 Jumna Canal, The Old: built, 104

K

Kabir: teachings of, 84
 Kadesia: battle of (634 A.D.), 322
 Kafur, Malik: campaigns of, 100
 Kai-Khatu, Persian ruler: introduces paper notes into Persia, 102; reign of, 335
 Kalidasa, father of Sanskrit drama: sketch of, 54
 Kalinjar: siege of (1545), 110
 Kamal: battle of (1738), 353
 Kandahar: captured by the Moguls (1594), 113; battle of (1880), 258; siege of (1736-1737), 352
 Kandhs: description of, 31
 Kanishka, Scythian king: summons the Fourth Council, 61; reign of, 72
 Karim: leads Pindari revolt, 208
 Karo-la: battle of (1904), 298
 Kashmir: conquered by the Moguls (1587-1592), 113
 Kasim, Mohammedan ruler: his campaign in India, 88
 Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovitch: his campaign in Khiva, 256
 Keigwin, Richard: leads insurrection in Bombay, 167
 Kelly, James Graves: his campaign for the relief of Chitral, 278
 Kerbela: siege of (1843), 361
 Kerim Khan, Kurdish chieftain: reign of, 355
 Khaibar Rifles: organized, 281
 Khalar Mirza: flies before English forces, 364
 Khalid: leads invasion of Persia, 322
 Khan, Amir: leads Pindari revolt, 208
 Khilji Dynasty: rules Delhi, 98
 Khusru, king of Ghazni: defeated, 94
 Khusru (I) Anushirwan, king of Persia: reign of, 319
 Khusru (II) Parviz, king of Persia: reign of, 320
 Khusru Khan: usurps the throne of Delhi, 101
 Kirkpatrick, James Achilles: resident at Haidarabad, 202

Kirkpatrick, William: military secretary for Wellesley, 202
 Kirman: siege of (1794), 356
 Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, Viscount Kitchener: commander-in-chief in India, 305
 Koh-i-Nur, The: carried away by Nadir Shah, 354; presented to Queen Victoria, 226
 Komarov, General: his campaigns in Afghanistan, 265
 Koning, Henry: organizes Swedish East India Company, 175
 Kshaltriyas: rise of, 43
 Kublai Khan: extends the use of paper notes, 102
 Kufa: founded, 322
 Kulil Sultan: succeeds Timur, 339
 Kumara-sambhava: sketch of, 53
 Kumarila: teachings of, 76, 80
 Kuriah Muriah Islands: sketch of, 19
 Kush-ab: battle of (1857), 363
 Kutab Shahi Dynasty: founded, 106
 Kutab-ud-din, king of Delhi: founds dynasty, 96

L

Laccadive Islands: description of, 18
 Laing, Samuel: sketch of, 244
 Lake, Gerard, Viscount Lake: his campaign in India, 136; his campaign in Hindustan, 201
 Lakshman Sen: defeated by the Mohammedans, 96
 Lancaster, James: visits India, 157; establishes commercial relations with Indian kings, 159
 Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice, Marquis of: his governor-generalship of India, 268
 Laswari: battle of (1803), 136, 201
 Law, Edward, Baron Ellenborough: see Ellenborough, Edward Law, Baron
 Law, Sir Edward FitzGerald: finance member of the governor-general's council, 274; value of his work in India, 282
 Law, John: revives French interest in India, 170
 Lawrence, Sir Henry Montgomery: appointed to be resident at Lahore, 221; death of, 237

- Lawrence, Sir John Laird Mair: sketch of, 222; administrator of the Punjab, 223; anticipates the Mutiny, 235; becomes governor-general of India, 245
- Lawrence, Stringer: at siege of Pondicherry, 179
- Lawrence, Sir Walter Roper: sketch of, 277; attends the Prince of Wales on his visit to India, 309
- Leaf-wearers: see Juangs
- Leedes: enters the service of the Great Mogul, 157
- Legazpi: establishes Spanish control in the Philippines, 157
- Lessar, Paul: delimits the boundary between Russian territories and Afghanistan, 265
- Linschoten, John Higghen van: publishes a guide to India, 154
- Lockhart, William Stephen Alexander: occupies Waziristan, 277
- Lodi, House of: reign of, 104
- Lomakin, General: defeated by the Tekkes, 367
- Low, Robert Cunliffe: his campaign for the relief of Chitral, 278
- Lower Bengal: conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji (1203), 95; early history of, 107; captured by Akbar, 113
- Lower Ganges Canal: sketch of, 223
- Lucknow: siege of (1857), 237
- Lucknow: Treaty of (1801), 198
- Lumsden, Sir Peter Stark: British representative to the Afghan Frontier Commission, 265
- Lutf Ali, shah of Persia: reign of, 356
- Lyall, Sir Alfred Comyn: sketch of, 263
- Lyall, Sir James Broadwood: sketch of, 264
- Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 254
- M
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Baron Macaulay: made legal member of the governor-general's council, 214
- Macdonald, James Ronald Leslie: commands military escort of Tibetan mission, 298
- McMahon, Colonel: his mission in Seistan, 296
- Macnaghten, Sir William Hay: secretary to Lord Auckland, 215; sketch of, 218
- M'Neill, Sir John: his mission to Teheran, 361
- Macpherson, Sir Herbert Taylor: commands Indian troops in Egyptian campaign, 259
- Macpherson, Sir John: sketch of, 195
- Madhu Rao, Maratha peshwa, 133
- Madhu Rao Narayan, Maratha peshwa: reign of, 136
- Mad Mullah: at war with the English, 278
- Madras: founded, 163; taken by the French (1746), 179; siege of (1781), 193
- Magellan, Fernando: voyage of, 157
- Mahabat Khan: rebellion of, 118
- Mahabharata: description of, 49
- Maharajpur: battle of (1843), 219
- Mahé de la Bourdonnais, Bertrand François: his campaign in India, 179
- Mahmud, Afghan king: reign of, 348
- Mahmud, prince of Ghazni: reign of, 91; conquests of, 328
- Mahmud Shah, of Afghanistan: reign of, 216
- Mahmud Tughlak, sultan of India: reign of, 104
- Mahrattas: see Marathas
- Maine, Henry James Sumner: law member of the Indian councils, 245
- Maiwand: battle of (1879), 258
- Makbul Khan: administration of, 103
- Malabari, Behramji Merwanji: reforms of, 271
- Malacca: sieges of (1578), 152; (1615), 152; (1628), 152
- Malak Shah, Persian ruler: reign of, 330
- Malcolm, Sir John: envoy to Persia, 206, 359; his negotiations with the Marathas, 209
- Malwa: siege of (1572), 113
- Man Singh, Raja: aids Akbar the Great, 112
- Manila: captured by the English, (1762), 181
- Mansell, Charles Grenville: administers the Punjab, 222

- Manu, Code of: compiled, 49
 Manzikert: battle of (1070), 330
 Maratha Ditch: erected, 182
 Maratha War: first, 136, 193; second, 136, 201; third, 208
 Marathas (Mahrattas): rise of, 121, 130
 Marignolli, John de: visits India, 142
 Maris: description of, 28
 Marshall, John Hubert: appointed director-general of the Archæological Survey of India, 280
 Martin, François: his campaigns in India, 170
 Massey, William Nathaniel: sketch of, 247
 Master, Sir Streynsham: governor of Bengal, 166
 Mayo, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 248
 Mayo College: opened, 249
 Mauritius, Island of: occupied by the English, 205
 Meerut: massacre of (1399), 104; outbreak of the Mutiny at, 234
 Megasthenes: describes India, 70
 Mehidpur: battle of (1817), 209
 Merchant Adventurers, Company of, 158
 Merv: occupied by Russia, 264
 Metcalfe, Charles Theophilus, Baron Metcalfe: matriculates at the College of Fort William, 202; sent as envoy to Lahore, 205; his governor-generalship of India, 215
 Miani: battle of (1848), 219
 Michelborne, Sir Edward: granted license to trade with India, 159
 Middleton, David: commands voyage to India, 160
 Middleton, Sir Henry: commands voyages to India, 159, 160
 Middleton, Thomas Fanshaw, Bishop of Calcutta, 206
 Mildenhall, John: sent to India as ambassador, 158
 Minto, Gilbert John Murray Kynynmound Elliot, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 306, 309
 Mir Jafar: claims throne of Bengal, 183; dethroned, 186; restored, 187; bequeaths a legacy to Clive, 188
 Mir Jumla: his campaigns in the north of India, 123
 Mir Kasim: made nawab of Bengal, 186; deposed, 187
 Mir Wais: founds Afghan kingdom, 348
 Mirza Taki: becomes vizir, 362; sketch of, 363
 Moguls: invade India, 97
 Mogul Dynasty, 109
 Mohammed, Mogul shah: defeated by the Persians, 353
 Mohammed Ali: see Wala-jah
 Mohammed Hasan Khan, chief of the Khajars: reign of, 355
 Mohammed Mirza, shah of Persia: defeated by Russians, 359; reign of, 360
 Mohammed of Ghor: career of, 94
 Mohammed the Prophet, sketch of, 88, 321
 Mohammed Tughlak, sultan of India: reign of, 101
 Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College: opened, 256
 Mohammedans: conquer India, 88
 Moira, Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Earl of: see Hastings, Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Marquis of
 Molucca Islands: annexed to British empire, 205
 Montgomery, Robert: sketch of, 222
 Morier: negotiates Treaty of Teheran, 360
 Morris, Sir John Henry: sketch of, 252
 Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire: founded, 255
 Muavia, Mohammedan kalif: reign of, 326
 Mubarik, king of Delhi: reign of, 101
 Mudki: battle of (1846), 221
 Muir, William: sketch of, 252
 Muiz-ud-din: see Mohammed of Ghor
 Multan: battle of (326 B. C.), 69
 Munro, Sir Hector: crushes Sepoy mutiny, 187; at the battle of Baxar, 135, 187
 Munro, Sir Thomas: his campaign in Burma, 211
 Murad: death of, 121
 Murshid Kuli Khan (Jafar Khan), nawab of Bengal: makes his province independent, 126; sketch of, 181
 Musa al Kasim: sketch of, 340
 Muskhu-'d-Din: see Sa'di
 Mutiny of 1857, The, 232

Muttra: destroyed, 127
 Muzaffar ud-din, shah of Persia: reign of, 364
 Muzaffarid Dynasty: reign of, 336
 Mysore War, 196

N

- Nadir, shah of Persia: invades India, 127; his conquests, 350; reign of, 352
 Nagpur: battle of (1817), 209; becomes part of the Central Provinces, 229
 Naini Tal: landslip at (1880), 259
 Nalanda, Monastery of: description of, 64
 Nana Sahib: inherits property of Baji Rao, 229; leads the Mutiny of 1857, 236
 Nanak Shah: teachings of, 84
 Nanking, Peace of (1842), 213
 Napier, Sir Charles James: his campaign in Sind, 219
 Napier, Francis, Baron Ettrick of Ettrick: sketch of, 252
 Napier, Robert Cornelis, Baron Napier of Magdala: lays out roads and canals, 226; acting governor-general of India, 244
 Napoleon (I) Bonaparte: plans conquest of India, 197
 Nasirulla Khan: visits England, 277
 Nasr ud-din, shah of Persia: reign of, 362
 Nasr-Ullah: marriage of, 353
 Nehavend: battle of (641 A. D.), 323
 Newberry, James: settles in India, 157
 Newfoundland: discovered, 156
 Nicholas IV, Pope: sends embassy to Arghun, 335
 Nicholas V, Pope: grants jurisdiction of African discoveries to Portuguese, 146
 Nicolas III, emperor of Russia: visits India, 273
 Nicholson, John: sketch of, 235
 Nikaià: founded, 68
 Nikitin, Athanasius: visits India, 141
 Nineveh: battle of (627 A.D.), 321
 Nisibis: siege of, 318
 Nizam Shahi Dynasty: founded, 106
 Nizam-ul-Mulk, Persian statesman: career of, 331
 Nizam-ul-Mulk Asof Jah: revolt of, 126; founds a dynasty, 178
 Non-Aryans: description of, 25
 Nordenskjold: discovers the North-east Passage, 156
 Norman, Sir Henry Wylie: sketch of, 251
 Northbrook, Thomas George Baring, Baron: his governor-generalship of India, 253
 Northwest Frontier Province: created, 286
 Northwest Passage: search for, 156
 Northwestern Provinces: sketch of, 203
 Nott, William: his campaign in India, 218
 Nur Jahan (Nur Mahal): sketch of, 117

O

- O'Connor, W. F. T.: member of the Tibetan mission, 297
 O'Shaughnessy, William Brooke: director general of telegraphs in India, 225
 Ochterlony, David: his campaigns against the Gurkhas, 207
 Odenatus, prince of Palmyra: defeats Persian army, 317
 Omar, Mohammedan kalif: commands invasion of Persia, 322
 Omar Khayyam: sketch of, 332, 333
 Ommeyad Dynasty: condition of Persia under, 325
 Oriental Trading Company, Austrian: organized, 173
 Orissa: captured by Moguls (1573), 113
 Orissa Famine, The (1866), 245
 Ostend Company: sketch of, 171
 Oudh: annexed to British India, 229
 Oudh Rent Act (1885), 260
 Oudh Tenancy Act (1868), 245
 Outram, Sir James: makes friends of the Bhils for the English, 28; assumes government of Oudh, 230; his campaigns in the Mutiny, 237; his campaign against Persia, 303
 Oxenden, Sir George: defends Surat, 131; defends English factory at Surat, 165

P, Q

- Pacheco, Duarte: his campaign in India, 148
- Paiva (Payva), Alfonso de: sent to Abyssinia, 144
- Palakollu: built, 155
- Palmer, Sir Arthur Power: sketch of, 279
- Pandita Ramabai: her work for Hindu widows, 272
- Pandya, Kingdom of: description of, 104
- Panipat: battles of (1526), 109; (1556), 111; (1761), 128, 133
- Panniar: battle of (1843), 219
- Paris, Treaties of (1763), 181; (1858), 364
- Patala: see Haidarabad
- Paterson, William: organizes a Scottish East India company, 171
- Patna: massacre of, 187
- Patuas: see Juangs
- Paul, emperor of Russia: plans invasion of India, 198
- Pearse, Colonel: his campaign against Haidar Ali, 193
- Penal Code: becomes law (1861), 244
- Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company: incorporated, 224
- Perambakam: battle of, 193
- Permanent Settlement, 195
- Perpetual Company of the Indies, The: organized, 170
- Persia, History of: the Sassanian dynasty, 313; foreign rule, 325; the new Persian empire, 340; modern Persia, 351; the government of Persia, 371
- Peshawar: battle of (1008), 92
- Peter the Great, emperor of Russia: sends a fleet and army against Persia, 349
- Phayre, Sir Arthur Purves: installed as chief commissioner of British Burma, 243
- Philip IV, king of France: corresponds with Arghun, 335
- Philip II, king of Spain: unites crowns of Spain and Portugal, 152
- Philippines: Spanish control established, 157
- Pindar, Sir Paul: member of Courten's Association, 158
- Pindaris: revolt of (1815), 208
- Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham: policy of, 180
- Pitt, William, son of the Earl of Chatham; secures the passage of a new India bill, 194
- Pitt, Thomas: governor of Madras, 166
- Plague, Bubonic: sketch of, 282
- Plassey: battle of (1757), 183
- Plütschau: missionary efforts of, 171
- Pollock, George: his campaigns in India, 218
- Polo, Marco: visits the East, 141, 336
- Pondicherri: siege of (1748), 179; captured by the English (1761), 170
- Poona, Treaty of (1817), 209
- Popham, Captain: captures Gwalior, 193
- Porter, Endymion: member of Courten's Association, 158
- Porto Novo: settled, 171
- Porus: defeated by Alexander the Great, 67
- Pottinger, Eldred: defends Herat, 217, 361
- Prendergast, Sir Harry North Dalrymple: his campaign in Burma, 266
- Prinsep, Sir Henry Thoby: retires from office, 273
- Prithwi Raja, prince of Delhi: legend of his daughter's marriage, 94; defeated by Mohammed of Ghor, 95
- Pulicat: settled, 154
- Punjab, The: annexed to British possessions, 226
- Punjab Land Alienation Act, 282
- Punjab Wars: see Sikh Wars
- Purana, The Vishnu: description of, 83

R

- Raffles, Thomas Stamford: administers Java, 205
- Raghuba: claims Maratha throne, 136, 192
- Raghuji Bhonsla: invades Bengal, 133
- Raghu-vansa: description of, 53
- Rajputs (Kshattriyas): rise of, 43
- Ram Mohan Rai, Raja: teachings of, 87
- Ramanand: teachings of, 84
- Ramanuja: reforms of, 83

- Ramayana, Indian epic, 26, 52
 Ramsay, James Andrew Brown, Earl of Dalhousie: see Dalhousie, James Andrew Brown, Earl of
 Rand: murder of, 283
 Ranjit Singh: sketch of, 220
 Rawdon, Lord: see Hastings, Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Marquis of
 Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke: sketch of, 217
 Raziya, queen of Delhi: reign of, 197
 Reay, Lord: recalled from Bombay, 273
 Redcliffe, Lord Strafford: his negotiations with Russia, 363
 Regulating Act (1773), 190
 Réunion: occupied by the French, 170
 Ridgeway, Sir Joseph West: delimits the boundary between Russian territories and Afghanistan, 265
 Rig-Veda: description of, 38
 Rintimbur: siege of (1300), 99
 Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Earl of: his governor-generalship of India, 258
 Riza Kuli: conquests of 352; blinded, 354
 Roberts, Frederick Sleigh, Earl Roberts of Kandahar, Pretoria, and Waterford: his campaign against Yakub Khan, 257; his plans for frontier defense, 269; reforms of, 272
 Robertson, George Scott: besieged in Chitral, 278
 Robinson, George Frederick Samuel, Earl of Ripon: see Ripon, George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Earl of
 Roe, Sir Thomas: sent to the court of Jahangir, 160
 Rohillas: defeat of, 191
 Rokh, shah of Persia: reign of, 354
 Romanus Diogenes, emperor of Rome: defeated by Persians, 330
 Rose, Hugh Henry, Baron Strathnairn: his campaign in central India, 238
Royal George: built, 163
 Royal Indian Engineering College: establishes a course in forestry, 7
 Royal Titles Act (1876), 255
 Rustam: death of, 322
 Ryder, C. H. D.: visits the Tashi Lama, 302
- S
- Saadat Ali Khan: becomes an independent ruler, 126
 Sad Ali Mohammed: founds the Babis, 362
 Sa'd ibn Walik: conquers Persia, 322
 Sa'di (Muskhu-'d-Din): sketch of, 333
 Safdar Jang, nawab of Oudh: reign of, 126
 Safawi Dynasty: reign of, 340
 Saffarid Dynasty: reign of, 327
 Safi (Sophi) I, shah of Persia: reign of, 346
 Safi (Sophi) II, shah of Persia: reign of, 347
 Sah Dynasty, The, 74
 Sahu, Maratha king: reign of, 132
 Saint Thomé: battle of (1746), 179
 Saka (Scythian) Era: founded, 74
 Salbai, Treaty of (1782), 136, 193
 Sale, Sir Robert Henry: defends Jalahabad, 218
 Salim: see Jahangir
 Salivahana, Indian king: at war with the Scythians, 74
 Samarkand: captured by the Moguls (1497), 109
 Sama-Veda: rise of, 42
 Sambhaji, Maratha king: reign of, 132; death of, 122
 Samrah: battles of (363 A.D.), 318 (1733), 351
 Samvat Era: founded, 73
 Sandeman, Sir Robert Groves: sketch of, 266
 Sangala: battle of (327 B.C.), 68
 Sankara Acharya: sketch of, 80
 Santa Stefano, Hieronimo di: visits India, 141
 Santals: description of, 29
 Sapor: see Shahpur
 Saragossa, Treaty of (1529), 146
 Samanid Dynasty: reign of, 328
 Sanjar, Persian sultan: reign of, 331
 Sassanian Dynasty, 313
 Sataro: escheats to the British government, 228
 Sayyid Dynasty: reign of, 104
 Scott-Moncrieff, Sir Colin Campbell: president of the irrigation commission, 280
 Scythians: invade India, 72

- Scythian Era: see Saka Era
 Segauli, Treaty of (1815), 207
 Seleucus Nicator: receives Bactria and India, 69
 Selim, Ottoman sultan: at war with Persia, 341
 Seljuks: rise of, 329
 Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, The, 232
 Serampur: founded, 171
 Seringapatam: siege of (1799), 200
 Seven Years' War: its effect in India, 179
 Shad-ul-Mulk: her relations with Kulil Sultan, 339
 Shah Alam, Mogul emperor: claims Bengal, 185; at war with the English, 135, 187
 Shah Jahan, Mogul emperor: reign of, 119; captures Hugli (1629), 150
 Shah Rokh, Persian ruler: reign of, 339
 Shahab-ud-din: see Mohammed of Ghor
 Shahji Bhonsla: rise of, 130
 Shahpur (Sapor) I, king of Persia: reign of, 316
 Shahpur (II) the Great, king of Persia: reign of, 318
 Shahr Barz: conquers Persia, 321
 Shakban Khan: overthrows the Timurid dynasty in Turkestan, 341
 Sharpay, Captain: obtains grant of free trade at Aden, 160
 Sher Ali, Afghan ruler: disputed accession of, 247; intrigues with Russia, 256
 Sher Shah, governor of Bengal: defeats Humayun the Mogul, 110
 Shiraz: siege of (1790), 356
 Shirley, Sir Anthony: reorganizes Persian army, 343
 Shirley, Sir Robert: reorganizes Persian army, 343
 Shore, Sir John: financial reforms of, 196; made governor-general, 196
 Shuja, amir of Afghanistan: exiled, 216; attempts to regain his throne, 217
 Shuja-ud-daula, nawab of Oudh: reign of, 126; at war with the English, 187
 Sigelmus of Sherborne: said to have visited India, 156
 Sikandar (Sekunder): at battle of Sirhind, 110
 Sikh War, 225
 Sikhs, The: sketch of, 220
 Siladitya, an Indian king: reign of, 63
 Simla: sketch of, 207
 Simovich, Count: his influence in Persia, 360
 Sind: conquered by the Moguls (1592), 113
 Siraj-ud-daula (Surajah Dowlah), nawab of Bengal: at war with English, 182
 Sirhind: battle of (1556), 110
 Siva-worship: description of, 81
 Sivaji, Maratha leader: at war with Aurangzeb, 122; career of, 130; pillages Surat, 165
 Sitabaldi: battle of (1817), 209
 Skobelev, Mikhail: storms Geok Tepe, 367
 Slave Kings, Dynasty of: founded, 97
 Sleeman, Captain: suppresses *thags*, 214
 Smith, Harry: wins battle of Aliwal, 221
 Smith (Smythe), Thomas: governor of the English East India Company, 158
 Sobraon: battle of (1846), 221
 Socotra: occupied by the British, 255
 Sophi: see Safi
 Staper, Richard: promotes the English East India Company, 158
 Statistical Survey of India: organized, 250
 Stephens, Thomas: visits India, 156
 Stewart, Sir Donald: his campaigns against the Afghans, 257; made commander-in-chief of Indian forces, 261
 Stokes, Whitley: sketch of, 262
 Strachey, John: acting governor-general of India, 253
 Strachey, Richard: sketch of, 246; president of the famine commission, 255
 Strathnairn, Hugh Henry Rose, Baron: see Rose, Hugh Henry, Baron Strathnairn
 Su: drive out the Greek dynasty from the Bactrian kingdom, 72
 Subuktigin, prince of Ghazni: at war with Jaipal of Lahore, 91
 Succession, War of Austrian: its effect in India, 179
 Sudder-ud-Din: sketch of, 340
 Sudras: rise of, 43

- Suffern de Saint-Tropez, Pierre André
de: his campaigns in India, 194
Suez Canal: opened, 138
Suleiman the Magnificent, sultan of Tur-
key: attempts to conquer India,
150; reign of, 342
Suleiman, shah of Persia: see Safi II
Sulf Ali: fall of, 348
Surajah Dowlah: see Siraj-ud-daula
Surat: raided by the Marathas, 131
Surat, Treaty of (1775), 192
Swally: battle of (1612), 160

T

- Taj Mahal: built, 119
Talikota: battle of (1565), 90, 107, 151
Tamasp (Thamas) I, shah of Persia:
reign of, 342
Tamasp II, shah of Persia, regains his
throne, 350
Tantia Topi: career of, 239
Taylor, Reynell George: his career in
India, 223
Tegnapatam: founded, 166
Teheran, Treaty of (1814), 360
Tel-el-Kebir: battle of (1882), 259
Temple, Richard, Baron Temple: his ca-
reer in India, 223; sketch of, 251;
in charge of the famine relief ad-
ministration, 255
Thags: suppression of, 214
Thaneswar: battle of (1191), 94
Thebau, Burmese king: at war with the
British, 266
Thomason, James: his services in India,
223
Thompson, Sir Augustus Rivers:
sketch of, 262
Three Collections, The, 60
Tibet: opening of, 297
Tibet, The Opening of, 377
Timur (Timur-i-Leng, Tamerlane): in-
vades India, 104; invades Persia,
337
Tipu Sultan: at war with the English,
194; conspires against English, 197
Tirah Campaign (1897), 278
Todar Mall, Raja: services of, 112, 116
Toghrul Beg: conquests of, 330
Topal Osman: his campaign against the
Persians, 351

Turkmanchai, Treaty of (1829), 359

U, V

- Uchh (Alexandria): founded, 69
Udhunala: battle of (1763), 187
United Company of Merchants of Eng-
land trading to the East Indies,
The: organized, 159
Universities Act (1904), 291
Usman Khalif: sends expedition to
Bombay coast, 88
Vaidyas: rise of, 48
Valerian, emperor of Rome: captured
by the Persians, 317
Valian: leads religious revolt, 318
Vallabha-Swami: teachings of, 86
Van Cortlandt, Colonel: trains the Sikh
army, 221
Vansittart, Henry: attempts to compro-
mise with Mir Kasim, 187
Vartan: leads religious revolt, 318
Varthema, Ludovico di: visits India,
142
Veda: composed, 25
Vedas, The Four, 42
Vellore, Mutiny of (1806), 204
Ventura, General: trains Sikh army, 221
Vernacular Press Act: passed (1878),
256; repealed (1882), 260
Versailles, Treaty of (1783), 194
Victoria, queen of Great Britain and Ire-
land and empress of India: pro-
claimed empress, 254; death of, 287
Vijayanagar (Narsingha), Kingdom of:
sketch of, 105
Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain in Malwa:
reign of, 73
Vishnu-worship: description of, 82

W

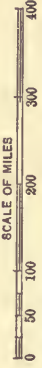
Wajid Ali, king of Oudh: deposed, 230
 Wala-jah (Mohammed Ali): claims throne of Arcot, 180
 Wales, Albert Victor, Prince of: visits India, 273
 Wales, George Frederick, Prince of: visits India, 309
 Wandiwash: battle of (1760), 180
 Watson, Charles: at the capture of Calcutta, 182
 Wedderburn, Sir William: supports the Indian National Congress, 270
 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of: his campaigns in India, 136, 201
 Wellesley, Richard Cowley or Wellesley, Marquis of: made governor-general of India, 196
 Westland, James: finance member of the governor-general's council, 274
 White, Claude: member of the Tibetan mission, 297
 White, Sir George Stuart: sketch of, 278
 Widow-burning: abolished, 213
 Willoughby, Sir Hugh: searches for the Northeast Passage, 156
 Wilson, James: financial member of the Indian council, 243
 Wilson, T. F.: becomes military member of the governor-general's council, 261
 Women: position of, in ancient India, 38; condition of, among the Aryans, 75; spiritual independence of, in Orissa, 85

Wood, Charles, Viscount Halifax: president of the board of control, 225

X, Y, Z

Yajnavalkya, Code of: compiled, 49
 Yajur-Veda: rise of, 42
 Yakub, ruler of Eastern Turkestan: seeks recognition from Indian government, 249
 Yakub Khan: made regent of Afghanistan, 257
 Yale, Elihu: governor of Madras, 166
 Yandabu, Treaty of (1826), 212
 Yezdigerd III, king of Persia: reign of, 321
 Younghusband, Francis Edward: in charge of the Tibetan mission, 297
 Yusuf ben Leis, Mohammedan kalif: founds Saffarid dynasty, 327
 Zafar Khan: becomes sovereign of the Deccan, 105
 Zaku Sadik, shah of Persia: reign of, 355
 Zanzan: siege of (1848), 362
 Zeman, amir of Afghanistan: reign of, 216
 Zend Dynasty: reign of, 355
 Zend-Avesta: compiled, 316
 Ziegenbalz: missionary efforts of, 171
 Zizam: battle of (1827), 359
 Zubov, Plato: his campaign against Persia, 358
 Zul-fikar Khan: controls the Mogul emperors, 125

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- Railroads
- Submarine Cables
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- Size of type indicates relative importance of places

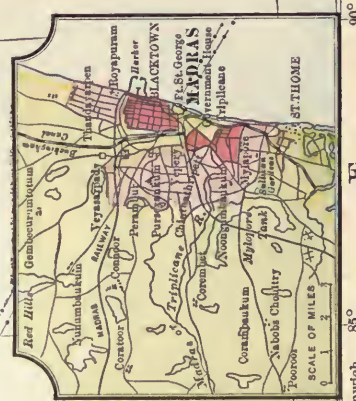




BAY OF BENGAL

INDIA

70° 80° 90°
 A B C D E F
 Longitude East from Greenwich
 10° 15° 20°
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A 45 B 50 C 55 D

40
1
35
2
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13 50 55 Longitude D East from



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SCALE OF MILES
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